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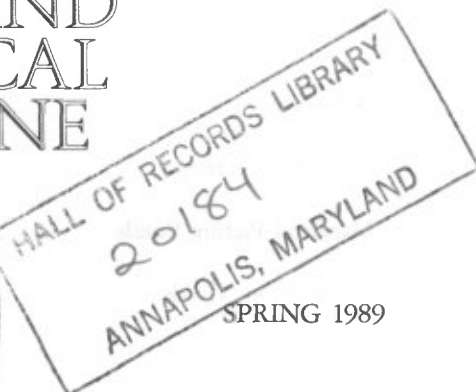
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Editor's Corner

Historians of art and students of literature divide interestingly on the question of how much attention to pay to the work of art itself and how much to the artist and his or her life—the circumstances surrounding the art. Scholars differ on whether to devote primary attention to text (or painting) or context. Jean Jepson Page's article examining Whistler as Baltimorean, his famous *The White Girl*, and the Civil War as the painting's emotional setting suggests the value of the contextual approach. Though the essay may be speculative and inconclusive, we hope it prompts readers of the magazine to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of these fundamentally different critical points of view—and to see Whistler's Civil War art from an entirely new perspective.

Cover design: James McNeill Whistler, *The White Girl or Symphony in White No. 1*, 1862. Oil on canvas. (Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

# The Berry Brothers of Talbot County, Maryland: Early Antislavery Leaders

KENNETH L. CARROLL

Slavery seems to have entered Maryland within a few years of the colony's founding, appearing by 1640 if not earlier.<sup>1</sup> Gradually slaveholding became a part of the Maryland way of life as tobacco achieved a growing importance in the economy of the Chesapeake area. Slaves first complemented and then replaced indentured servants as the chief source of labor.

From the beginning, Maryland was settled by a mixture of Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Puritans of various persuasions. Most seventeenth-century Maryland Quakers were converts to Quakerism, coming from one or another of these groups. Through the work of Elizabeth Harris<sup>2</sup> in 1656 and the labors of other "Publishers of Truth" who followed her throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century,<sup>3</sup> great numbers of individuals were convinced of Quaker principles and became active in the growing number of Quaker meetings in Kent, Talbot, Dorchester, and Somerset counties on the Eastern Shore and Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Calvert counties on the Western Shore.<sup>4</sup> Many of these individuals were already slaveholders before they became proselytes to Quakerism.

No voice seems to have been raised against the practice of holding one's fellow human beings in bondage until George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, visited Maryland in 1672–73. He had first witnessed slavery, in all its evil, in Barbados and soon advocated in writing that masters free their slaves after a certain period of service.<sup>5</sup> How much he said on this subject while in Maryland is uncertain, but James Soney of Kent County in a 1674 will (drawn up shortly after Fox returned to England) freed his two slaves, left most of his estate to them, and named the husband as the executor of his will!<sup>6</sup>

William Edmundson, the great Irish Quaker who traveled in Maryland in 1675–77, was even more outspoken against slavery—producing two very significant letters attacking the institution of slavery.<sup>7</sup> The second epistle was written in Maryland on the 5th of the 11th Month, 1676 (January 1677), perhaps at the very time that Edmundson was the guest of William Southby of Sassafras River. Southby, who later moved to Talbot County, played a part in the building of the old Third Haven Meetinghouse and still later—after his removal to Pennsylvania—became the first native-born American to attack slavery.<sup>8</sup>

From 1688 to the 1730s there were periodic Quaker attacks on slavery,<sup>9</sup> but none of them had any broad acceptance. Some individual Maryland Quakers (such as William Dixon and John Jadwin of Talbot County) manumitted their slaves by

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Professor Carroll, emeritus at Southern Methodist University and a longtime student of Maryland religious history, makes his home in Easton.

deed or freed them by will.<sup>10</sup> Yet, on the whole, there was no widespread success in ridding the Society of Friends of slaveholding. An examination of fifty wills of representative Eastern Shore Quakers, between 1669 and 1750, shows that 42 percent of them owned slaves. A search of inventories might increase that percentage.

In Talbot County in the 1750s and early 1760s, it appears that most Quaker families of means possessed slaves, although some well-to-do Talbot Quakers (such as members of the Bartlett family) refrained on principle from the practice—perhaps first influenced by the earlier antislavery writings of Southeby, Sandiford, and others and later reinforced in their position by John Woolman's 1754 essay, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*.<sup>11</sup> Talbot Quakers of the 1750s, like most of their Maryland brethren, seem to have been content to hold to the status quo where slaveholding was concerned.

Within a quarter of a century, however, most Talbot Quakers came to feel that slaveholding was wrong. Many of those Talbot Quakers who had been slaveholders in the early 1760s became champions of freedom in the late 1760s and the 1770s. Within a quarter of a century, they managed to free their Society from slavery—first in Talbot County and then throughout the whole state. How was this possible? What brought about the change? An examination of eighteenth-century sources suggests that this development took place largely as a result of the attitudes and work of the Berry brothers of Talbot County.

Who were the Berry brothers? There were four of them originally—John, James, Joseph, and Benjamin—all descendants of Talbot Quaker families on several sides. Their mother was Sarah Skillington and their father was James Berry,<sup>12</sup> who died in 1746, leaving 760 acres at the head of Kings Creek to his four minor sons. The land was divided into four equal parts in 1752, with each one of them receiving his share at that time.<sup>13</sup>

John, the eldest, died in 1760 at the age of thirty-five, before the Maryland struggle over slavery began. He, therefore, was not involved in this great crusade. The other three sons, however, lived into the 1770s and 1780s, when Maryland Quakers underwent their great struggle to free themselves from the evil of slavery. Each of the brothers played an important part in the movement to rid their Yearly Meeting of slaveholding.

James Berry, the second of the four sons, was born in 1729 and died in 1785.<sup>14</sup> He was still young, only seventeen years of age, when his father died, and perhaps he was also somewhat affected by being the second child (often identified as a source of problems). When he was in his early twenties, he rebelled against the Quakerism of his parents—absenting himself from meetings for worship and even rejecting the Quaker testimony against taking an oath. Thus he was testified against and dropped from membership in 1755.<sup>15</sup> In 1756, when he was twenty-six, he sold his inheritance to his brother John<sup>16</sup> and began to "live it up," putting aside the simple Quaker gray clothes for fancy clothes and lace.<sup>17</sup> In 1758 James Berry persuaded Elizabeth Powell (a daughter of Daniel Powell, probably the richest Talbot Quaker at the time of his death in the 1750s)<sup>18</sup> to run off with him to be married by an Anglican priest; his wife was also dropped from membership in the Society of Friends.<sup>19</sup>

Somewhere along the line, both James Berry and his wife Elizabeth began attending meetings once more, even though they had each been officially dropped from membership. In the spring of 1761, they publicly condemned the actions that earlier had caused the Monthly Meeting to testify against them.<sup>20</sup> A committee of Friends then met with them, observed their behavior for seven months, and at the very end of 1761, they were accepted back into membership.<sup>21</sup> Formerly "birthright" Friends, they had now become "convinced" Friends. Almost immediately after his reinstatement, Third Haven Monthly Meeting recognized James's ability and began to appoint him to various committees and offices.<sup>22</sup> At the close of 1762 he became the Clerk (presiding officer) of the Monthly Meeting,<sup>23</sup> replacing his brother Joseph who had held the office for several years. In 1763 James became the Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting (embracing most of the Eastern Shore meetings),<sup>24</sup> once again following his brother Joseph into this position. In 1767, at the age of thirty-eight, James Berry became the Clerk of Maryland Yearly Meeting,<sup>25</sup> the highest office in Maryland Quakerism. He also served on the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders and on the Meeting for Sufferings.<sup>26</sup> At the time of the American Revolution, he was easily the Eastern Shore's most gifted and prominent Quaker.

Joseph Berry (1731–83) was the third son. He began to be appointed to various committees of the Monthly Meeting early in the 1750s,<sup>27</sup> when he was barely in his twenties, and was named to attend the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders as early as 1756 (when he was but twenty-five).<sup>28</sup> By 1757 he became Clerk of the Monthly Meeting and was reappointed to that office in 1760,<sup>29</sup> serving in that capacity until replaced by his brother James in 1763. Joseph served the Quarterly Meeting in many ways (including the Clerkship)<sup>30</sup> and was often named to be one of the representatives to the Yearly Meeting (whether held at West River near Annapolis or at Third Haven in Talbot County).<sup>31</sup> Benjamin (1736–74) was the youngest of the brothers. He too was very active in the affairs of Tuckahoe Preparative Meeting,<sup>32</sup> Third Haven Monthly Meeting,<sup>33</sup> the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting,<sup>34</sup> and from time to time was appointed a representative to Maryland Yearly Meeting itself.<sup>35</sup>

On a number of occasions all three brothers served on the same committees, for the various levels of Maryland Quaker organization recognized their talents. As a family, these three Berry brothers (James, Joseph, and Benjamin) appear to have been more active, more gifted, and more appointed to offices and committees than any other family in Third Haven Monthly Meeting. They were truly dedicated Quakers. And yet, at the same time, they were also slaveholders—keeping their fellow human beings in bondage (just as their parents and grandparents before them had done).

What brought about the change in James, Joseph, and Benjamin Berry that first led them to free their own slaves and then to encourage their relatives, friends, and neighbors to free theirs? It seems certain that the "Indian Sarah" affair must have had some part to play in this development. In 1763 James Berry and his brother Benjamin Berry became involved in trying to recover for "Indian Sarah" a child that she had by a white man a number of years earlier and that she had raised on her own, with no help from the father. When the child was old enough to work, she

was taken from the mother by the Dorchester County Court and given to a white man who claimed to be the child's father. The Berry brothers went to the Dorchester Court on several occasions about this situation, also talking to a lawyer and conferring with Philadelphia Quakers about what might be done.<sup>36</sup> The outcome of the case is not known, but for the Berry brothers it was probably the catalyst that began their deeper thinking on the question of human rights, leading to a quickening of their consciences. Another episode that probably helped to move the brothers along in their pilgrimage took place in the spring of 1764, when Thomas Bowers (of Cecil Monthly Meeting in Kent County) bought a slave, in spite of the 1759–60 Yearly Meeting prohibitions against such action. Joseph Berry and Benjamin Berry were appointed to a committee to look into the circumstances.<sup>37</sup> As they dealt with the question of *buying* slaves they must also have wrestled, consciously or unconsciously, with the next question of whether or not it was permissible to *own* slaves.

About this same time, in the early and mid 1760s, there were a number of other factors that combined to awaken further the consciences of the three Berry brothers. These added ingredients included the following: (1) John Woolman's first essay against slavery, published in 1754, was joined by a second one in 1762;<sup>38</sup> (2) traveling Irish and English Quakers, who visited Talbot County Quaker meetings with some regularity, were increasingly questioning the practice of slaveholding;<sup>39</sup> (3) letters arrived from London Yearly Meeting and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting raising questions about slavery—letters that were read at Maryland Yearly Meeting, and then in turn at its Quarterly, Monthly, and Particular Meetings—including Third Haven Monthly Meeting where the Berrys were usually present, as well as at Tuckahoe Meetinghouse (near Matthewstown, where Joseph and Benjamin were to be found each Sunday) and at Choptank (where James was usually found);<sup>40</sup> and (4) the Berrys had much contact with other American Quakers (including some of the "reformers" who were calling for the ending of slaveholding). These contacts took place at their Yearly Meetings held at Third Haven and at West River near Annapolis; the brothers entertained them in their homes and, on occasion, were also guests of the Pembertons and others when they visited Philadelphia.<sup>41</sup> John Woolman, perhaps the greatest American Quaker of all time, also made the first of his famous walking journeys through the Eastern Shore in the spring of 1766, traveling by foot and dressed in undyed clothes—a sort of "embodied conscience," protesting Quaker involvement in slavery.<sup>42</sup>

Talbot County Quakers, led by the Berrys, began to manumit their slaves early in 1767, shortly after Woolman's 1766 foot-journey into the area. Joseph Berry freed Hannah and Abraham early in 1767,<sup>43</sup> and his brother Benjamin manumitted some of his slaves in 1767 and the rest in 1768.<sup>44</sup> James Berry liberated his slaves in 1768 and 1769.<sup>45</sup> James Berry's sister-in-law, Sarah Powell, freed four female slaves just two days after James Berry liberated his first one.<sup>46</sup> Once the Berrys had started the process, they were joined almost immediately by members of the Troth, Neal, Register, Dixon, and Warren families.<sup>47</sup> Soon there was a steady stream of manumissions by Quakers, spurred on by the examples of and urgings by the Berrys. The Berrys, who felt strongly enough about the evil of the system to free themselves from slaveholding, were not content to stop there. They also felt



called to acquaint their fellow Quakers with the joy that came with following "the voice of the one true shepherd," which demanded that Quakers free themselves from the practice of slaveholding.

The Berry brothers seem to have spearheaded this movement to abolish slavery with Benjamin Parvin, who in 1770 married Sarah Powell (James Berry's sister-in-law).<sup>48</sup> The Parvins soon freed their five slaves.<sup>49</sup> When Third Haven Monthly Meeting set up a four-member committee in 1772 to labor with those who still held slaves, both Joseph Berry and Benjamin Parvin were appointed to serve with this group.<sup>50</sup> Having been so convinced of the evil of slaveholding that they had liberated their own slaves, these Friends were now fully dedicated to helping their brethren see the necessity of following their example. Their convictions on the subject, underscored by the example of their own financial sacrifices, made them powerful spokesmen for the cause of manumission. An examination of Talbot County manumission records shows a number of other Quakers setting their slaves free in documents witnessed by Benjamin Berry, Joseph Berry, James Berry, and Benjamin Parvin.<sup>51</sup>

James Berry appears to have been especially active in accompanying traveling Quakers who came into Talbot to visit slave owners. Long after he was dead and buried, James Berry was vigorously attacked by the vestry of St. Peter's Parish for his activity in this field—for these vestrymen seem to have felt that it was immoral to free slaves!<sup>52</sup> They also insisted that James Berry was responsible for drawing Warner Mifflin, the great Delaware Quaker abolitionist, to this cause. And they even suggested in their 1797 attack on Quaker (and Methodist) manumission of slaves that James Berry, through Mifflin, had an indirect influence on Brissot de Warville and was therefore partly responsible for bringing on the French Revolution!<sup>53</sup>

The other two Berry brothers, Benjamin and Joseph, were ignored by the vestry of St. Peter's Parish in their 1797 attack. Yet both of them were also active in the ongoing Quaker antislavery crusade, not only in Talbot County where the movement first began but also in other parts of Maryland to which it gradually spread. Benjamin Berry, for instance (along with Benjamin Parvin), in 1773 was added by the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting to a committee to visit those Kent County Quakers who were still slaveholders.<sup>54</sup>

In 1776 Joseph Berry and Benjamin Parvin were attending Gunpowder Quarterly Meeting (containing most of the Quaker meetings on the Western Shore) when they met with Isaac Jackson of New Garden Meeting in Pennsylvania. Jackson had come southward on a religious visit to slave-owning Quakers on the Western Shore. Both Joseph Berry and Benjamin Parvin found themselves led to join Jackson in this service. Together they traveled from Quaker home to Quaker home, seeking to persuade the owners to free themselves from this evil institution of slavery. Whenever any of the Quaker slave owners expressed a willingness to liberate their slaves, Jackson, Parvin, and Berry quickly produced manumission forms already made out and ready to be filled in.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps the Berrys' greatest influence in this crusade, however, was to be found in their participation in the various levels of the Maryland Quaker organization—the Monthly Meeting at Third Haven (which included all the meetings in Talbot

and Caroline counties), the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting (which included all the meetings below Cecil County), and Maryland Yearly Meeting. They were regular attenders at all of these meetings where Quaker attitudes and positions on slaveholding were discussed and decided. They also served in the most important positions at each level. James and Joseph were Clerks of Third Haven Monthly Meeting.<sup>56</sup> All three were Clerks of the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting,<sup>57</sup> and James was Clerk of the Yearly Meeting for a number of years.<sup>58</sup>

The Berry brothers who began the Maryland movement to abolish slaveholding among Quakers in Talbot County in the 1760s participated in the ongoing development of the antislavery position throughout the whole Yearly Meeting, so that the Yearly Meeting moved rapidly toward that goal. In 1768 it was decided to disown those who bought and sold slaves.<sup>59</sup> In 1770 only those who had a testimony against slavery could be chosen as elders.<sup>60</sup> By 1772 the Yearly Meeting called for committees to be set up in all Quarterly and Monthly Meetings to labor with those who still held slaves.<sup>61</sup> In 1777 it was decided that no financial contributions should be accepted from those who continued to hold slaves.<sup>62</sup> The Yearly Meeting ruled in 1778 that those who continued to hold slaves and showed no disposition to free them could not be retained in membership.<sup>63</sup>

By 1780 the Yearly Meeting reported that there were only a few who still held slaves,<sup>64</sup> and in 1783 it noted that its meetings were nearly clear of members "holding people in bondage."<sup>65</sup> By 1787 it reported that very few slaves remained among Friends except in the estates of some minors and in the hands of those "under care" (that is, being dealt with by the Monthly Meeting).<sup>66</sup> Thus, by the time that the last two of the Berry brothers (James and Joseph) died, the work they had started had come to a successful conclusion—to full fruition. Theirs was a work well done.

#### NOTES

1. Russell R. Menard, "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 72, where the number of blacks is listed as 10 in 1640, 19 in 1655, 149 in 1660, 709 in 1670, 1,438 in 1680, 2,621 in 1690, 4,443 in 1700, and 17,720 in 1730.

2. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Elizabeth Harris, The Founder of American Quakerism," *Quaker History*, 57 (1968): 96–111.

3. Kenneth L. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), pp. 7–22; "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Quaker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (1967): 170–92; "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland," *Quaker History*, 53 (1964): 67–80; "Some Thoughts on George Fox's Visit to America in 1672," *Quaker History*, 61 (1972): 82–90.

4. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, pp. 23–57; "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952): 297–313.

5. Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 5–8.

6. Annapolis Wills, 4:22, Hall of Records, Annapolis; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Quaker History*, 72 (1983): 27–42, especially pp. 27–28.

7. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 9–10. Edmundson was also in Maryland in 1672–73 during his first visit to America.

8. Kenneth L. Carroll, "William Southeby, Early Quaker Antislavery Writer," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 89 (1965): 416–27.

9. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 11–47.

10. Talbot County Wills, Liber EM#1, folios 248 and 251, and Talbot County Land Records, Liber 9, folio 358. The originals are in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

11. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 56–58.

12. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, pp. 204–5, 225.

13. Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2:71 (the originals are now at the Hall of Records, Annapolis).

14. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, pp. 204–36.

15. Third Haven Minutes, 2:71, 109, 111, 112, 114.

16. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 18, folios 372–73.

17. Ethan Allan, "History of Eastern Shore Parishes" (Hall of Records, Annapolis), vol. 1, notes on St. Peter's Parish; Kenneth L. Carroll, "An Eighteenth-Century Episcopalian Attack on Quaker and Methodist Manumission of Slaves," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 80 (1985): 142.

18. Inventories, Liber 74, folios 201–17 (Hall of Records, Annapolis), for 14 August 1761, inventory of Daniel Powell. This seventeen-page inventory lists personal property of £3,193:19:2½. The Talbot County Debt Book, 1757–58, folio 47 (Debt Books 49, Hall of Records, Annapolis) lists eight pieces of real estate totaling 2,136 acres.

19. Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Women Friends Minutes, 1705–60, pp. 47–49 (Hall of Records, Annapolis).

20. Third Haven Minutes, 2:276 (28th of 5th Month, 1761).

21. *Ibid.*, 2:292.

22. *Ibid.*, 2:295, 300, 315, 316, 318.

23. *Ibid.*, 2:318.

24. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, p. 52 (12th of 4th Month, 1763). The manuscript volume is located at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

25. Epistles Received, 4 (1758–78): 205, 222, 254, 277, 301, 323, 353, and 400, and 5 (1778–1801): 33 and 81 show James Berry as Clerk, 1766–74 and 1778–79. (Friends House Library, London).

26. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, p. 186; Third Haven Minutes, 3:37

27. Third Haven Minutes, 2:100, 124, 131, 138, 141, and *passim*.

28. *Ibid.*, 2:143.

29. *Ibid.*, 2:169, 236.

30. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1750–1822, p. 52 and *passim*.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 21, 24, 26, 35 and *passim*.

32. Third Haven Minutes, 2:293; 3:14 and *passim*.

33. *Ibid.*, 3:4, 20 and *passim*.

34. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, p. 57; see p. 114, where Benjamin Berry replaced James Berry as Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 65, 71, 86, 106 and *passim*.

36. Pemberton Papers, 16:116, 120 (Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia).

37. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, p. 57. Other members of the committee, all from Cecil Monthly Meeting, were John Vansant, Thomas Browning, Samuel Wallis, Jr., and John Smith.

38. Phillips P. Moulton, ed., *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) contains both the 1754 "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" (pp. 198–209) and the 1762 "Considerations on Keeping Negroes—Part II" (pp. 210–237). This work is hereafter referred to as Woolman, *Journal*.

39. There were also a number of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England Quaker "ministers" who visited this area in the 1760s.

40. Third Haven Minutes, *passim*.

41. Epistles Received show Benjamin Berry present at (and signing the epistle of) Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1764, 1765, and 1766 (4:138, 161, 184), James Berry at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1765 (4:161), and Joseph Berry present at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1766 (4:184). These Yearly Meetings (especially that of 1765) were very important as Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Friends worked out their own positions on slaveholding. There was a close relationship between the Berrys and the Pembertons (whose ancestors had first settled on the Eastern Shore before moving to Philadelphia); see Pemberton Papers, 16:116, 22:58, 22:107, 26:41, 28:23, 35:90. James Pemberton and Israel Pemberton also attended Maryland Yearly Meeting in 1762 and 1763.

42. Woolman, *Journal*, pp. 145–46.

43. Third Haven Minutes, 2:426; Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folios 414, 515.

44. Third Haven Minutes, 2:429 (22nd of 8th Month, 1767). All of his manumissions were recorded at the Talbot County Court House in Easton on the 16th of the 4th Month, 1768 (Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folio 496).

45. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folio 474 and Liber 20, folio 82 show nine slaves being manumitted in these two deeds of manumission.

46. *Ibid.*, Liber 19, folios 474–75.

47. *Ibid.*, Liber 19, folios 496, 498, 499, 543; Liber 20, folios 3, 4, 41, 47.

48. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, p. 228.

49. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 20, folio 111.

50. Third Haven Minutes, 3:60. Howell Powell and William Edmondson also served on this committee.

51. Benjamin Berry witnessed several manumissions in 1767 and 1773 (the year before this death). James Berry witnessed seventeen manumissions between 1768 and 1781 (including those of Sarah Powell in 1768 and Benjamin Parvin in 1770) and a number after 1781. Joseph Berry was a witness to the manumission of thirteen slaves between 1769 and 1777. Benjamin Parvin witnessed manumissions for twenty-three slaves between 1773 and 1780. Other members of the Berry family who witnessed deeds of manumission included Lydia and Sarah Berry.

52. Carroll, "An Eighteenth-Century Episcopalian Attack on Quaker and Methodist Manumission of Slaves," p. 143.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, p. 120. Benjamin Parvin was added to this committee.

55. Isaac Jackson, "Isaac Jackson's Labor in the Cause of Emancipation," *Friends Intelligencer* 19 (1862–63): 293–96.

56. Third Haven Minutes, 2:318.

57. Southern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1759–1822, pp. 52, 114. Benjamin Berry replaced James Berry as Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting in 1772.

58. Epistles Received, 4:205, 222, 254, 277, 301, 323, 353, 400; 5:33, 81.

59. Maryland Yearly Meeting Minutes, 3:30 (Third Haven, 1768). The originals are at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

60. *Ibid.*, 3:45 (Third Haven, October 24, 1770). This concern first arose among Eastern Shore Friends in 1768. When Cecil Monthly Meeting nominated Joshua Lamb and Rebecca Hosier as elders in July 1768, a question arose in the Quarterly Meeting about the inconsistency of appointing slaveowners to such a position. Three months later, on the 10th of the 10th Month, the Quarterly Meeting decided that those who owned slaves and were "easie under the same" were "not likely to be servisable in that Station" (of elders) and decided to lay the matter before the Yearly Meeting; see Southern Quarterly Meeting minutes, 1759–1822, pp. 87–88.

61. Maryland Yearly Meeting Minutes, 3:60.

62. *Ibid.*, 3:92–93.

63. *Ibid.*, 3:100.

64. Epistles Received, 5:111–12.

65. *Ibid.*, 5:191.

66. *Ibid.*, 5:278–79.

# James McNeill Whistler, Baltimorean, and *The White Girl*: A Speculative Essay

JEAN JEPSON PAGE

Two of the most remarkable American paintings of the nineteenth century, *The White Girl* by James Whistler and *Icebergs* by Frederic Church, were exhibited in the United States and abroad early in the Civil War. Each received a great deal of public attention and bore dramatic similarities to the other. Both works were monumental in size and painted almost exclusively in white—a rare departure from the norm.

James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) and Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) were born in New England towns little more than 100 miles from each other and thoroughly imbued with the antebellum spirit of territorial expansion and railroad building. Yet they were worlds apart in their social and aesthetic outlooks. When they began work on their respective paintings, Church, one of the greatest Hudson River School artists, was at the height of his considerable fame, while Whistler was just beginning a long and relatively successful career. A “Yankee of Yankees,” Church was the “prophet-painter of the millennial era of Manifest Destiny,” his canvases—including *Icebergs*—“cogent parables for God’s Chosen.”<sup>1</sup> Whistler, by contrast, dismissed meaning in his *oeuvre*, causing us to regard him as our first modernist. Church stood for the old, Whistler the new. The Civil War marked the break between them.

A native of Lowell, Massachusetts, Whistler lived in Baltimore in 1854 before departing for Europe, where he spent the rest of his life. Biographers and art historians commonly regard him as a New Englander, and Joseph and Elizabeth Robin Pennell, who knew the artist in his late years and wrote the authorized biography of him, described Whistler’s mother as “strict as a Puritan.”<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, Whistler regarded Baltimore as his American home—a claim scholars tend to dismiss as another example of his well-known eccentricity. Whistler’s friends often commented that Baltimore was his home of choice. One, Frederick Wedmore, admitted that other places might “dispute with Baltimore the honour of having given birth to him” but insisted “it is only Baltimore that can fairly claim him.” Another, Léonce Bénédite, stated that “Whistler was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, by accident and therefore has a perfect right to modify his native place in accordance with his own taste.”<sup>3</sup> Wrote the Pennells, “We never knew him to show the least desire to return to Lowell, or Stonington, to Pomfret, or Wash-

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ington, but, he said, 'If I ever make the journey to America, I will go straight to Baltimore, then to West Point, and then sail for England again.'"<sup>4</sup>

Along with Whistler's professed attachment to Baltimore, some interesting circumstances suggest that the works he executed as the Civil War began were more expressive of his Baltimore allegiances than critics generally have recognized. Church first exhibited his roughly five-by-ten-foot painting, temporarily renaming it *The North*, at Goupil's gallery in New York on 24 April 1861, nine days after Lincoln's proclamation of war and five days after the 6th Massachusetts Infantry, mustered at Lowell on 16 April, marched into Baltimore and fired the first shots of the war. By coincidence, 24 April was also the day that Ross Winans (best friend of Whistler's deceased father and his half-brother's father-in-law) was elected to represent Baltimore in the Maryland General Assembly. The following day the commander of the 6th Massachusetts arrested Winans.

Whistler's five-by-seven-foot *White Girl*, a striking portrayal of innocent womanhood executed at a time of great national and personal stress, may have registered his sympathy with the embattled South in reply to the cold force of Church's celebrated *Icebergs*. If so, it would have been expedient to ensure that art critics of the day, especially those in New York and London, could find no political significance in the work. To do otherwise would have been foolhardy. Church deliberately renamed his painting to underscore his loyalty to the Northern cause, while Whistler, by subsequently changing the name of *The White Girl* to *Symphony in White No 1*, put critics, biographers, and future art historians off the scent in a rather precipitous shift that lifted his art from the realm of anecdotal and social realism into the realm of "art for art's sake."<sup>5</sup> This was not only a dramatic departure for him but for nineteenth century painters generally, accustomed as they were to consider a painting's message as important as the beauty and skill of its execution.



Properly to assess the significance of the break between Whistler's *White Girl* and Church's *Icebergs*, one must address the nature of Whistler's avowed affiliation with Baltimore, which had a distinct bearing on his initial reactions to the Civil War and the works he executed between Christmas, 1860, and Washington's birthday, 1862, when he finished *The White Girl*. Though the chronology of Whistler's life is well known, we will reconsider it briefly from the standpoint of his claim to being a Baltimorean. Whistler's paternal grandfather John Whistler fought under General John Burgoyne in the Revolutionary War, was taken prisoner, and then served in the army that captured him. George Washington became Whistler's hero, epitomizing the promise of the New World. Dreams of settling the West had permeated Virginia and Maryland since the Washingtons, Lees, Fairfaxes, and others in the tidewater country of these two regions had formed the Ohio Company of Virginia. When the war was over, the lure of the American West caused Whistler to return to America with his bride, daughter of an English knight, and settle in Hagerstown, Maryland, on the westward road General Braddock had blazed when George Washington served as his aide-de-camp.<sup>6</sup>

In 1800 the Whistlers moved to Fort Wayne, where their third son, whom they

named George Washington Whistler, was born in 1803. Three years later Captain John moved his family farther west, where he founded Fort Dearborn (now Chicago) and remained as its commander. George grew up on the farthest reaches of the American frontier. Though hardy and vastly curious about the elemental life around him, he was not a ruffian. He played the flute, his favorite source of relaxation, and later, at West Point, was first in drawing, causing one classmate to remark "George Whistler is too much of an artist to be an engineer."<sup>7</sup> Following graduation from the academy, George Washington Whistler became famous as one of the country's first engineers of consequence.

Because George showed an early interest in transportation innovations that might lessen distances between East and West, his engineering skills were quickly called upon when in 1826 the newly formed Baltimore and Ohio began building the nation's first railroad. Responding to the challenge posed by the opening of the Erie Canal, officers of the B&O hoped that a railroad would facilitate the movement of goods from the Ohio Valley to Baltimore's burgeoning port. In 1828 the War Department released Major Whistler to become the company's chief engineer, and the railroad invited Ross Winans, another clever newcomer to the city, to build rolling stock. The Winans family thereafter settled permanently in Baltimore. Because of their shared interests and visions, the two young men quickly became friends, their families developing strong personal attachments—a circumstance, certainly, that contributed to Jimmy Whistler's insistence on being a Baltimorean.<sup>8</sup>

The B&O almost immediately dispatched Whistler to England to examine the engineering methods being used by the two railroads already under construction there. He was accompanied by his good friend and fellow West Point graduate, Captain William Gibbs McNeill. When they returned to the United States, George, a widower with two young children, George, Jr., and Deborah, began courting McNeill's twenty-seven year old sister, Anna Mathilda, of Wilmington, North Carolina. On 3 November 1831 George and Anna were married. The southern McNeills traced their ancestry to their great-grandfather Black Daniell, chief of the McNeill clan, who led many of its members from Scotland in 1746 to settle in the Cape Fear Valley of North Carolina.<sup>9</sup>

In 1833 Whistler resigned his commission in the army to become supervising engineer of the Boston to Lowell Railroad. He, Anna, and his two children moved to Lowell, Massachusetts, the nation's first factory town, where Anna's first and George's second son, James (christened Adams, not McNeill) was born on 10 July 1834. George Whistler went to Lowell at the request of Kirk Boott, Jr., son of an Englishman from Derby. Boott's family long had been closely associated there with the Hadens into whose family George's daughter, Deborah, would marry. Born in Boston and educated at Harvard and Rugby, in England, Boott was said to be the town's "founder"; he represented Lowell in the state legislature and "practically ran the town." The Bootts and Whistlers became friendly, perhaps more on Anna's account than George's, since George apparently did not care for his situation in Lowell or its people, whose "upper circles" he regarded as "England transplanted." In this he may have reflected the sentiments of his emigré parents, who would not have regarded the importation of the English factory town as part of their dream for America. At any rate, when Boott died in 1837, despite the financial panic of that year, George abruptly accepted an engineering commission in the charming, unin-



dustrialized town of Stonington, Connecticut. Stonington provided a convivial environment for the whole family, as did Springfield, Massachusetts, where they moved in 1840. Though Jimmy was only three when he left Lowell, as an adult he never spoke well of his birthplace. In Springfield the Western Railroad of Massachusetts employed George to design a road from Boston to Albany, providing Boston with direct access to the Erie Canal and Ohio Valley. He called on Ross Winans, whose newly established company then began to supply railroads other than the B&O with engines and cars.<sup>10</sup>

In 1842 George departed for Russia at the request of the czar to supervise construction of a railroad between the royal seat of St. Petersburg and the more modern city of Moscow. A year later, as a result of George's repeated recommendations and the growing confidence the czar placed in him, Nicholas I invited Winans to build the railroad's rolling stock. Winans accepted the project but decided to send his twenty-two-year-old son Thomas to supervise it, with complete confidence in George's ability to look after the young man. Tom Winans arrived in Russia at about the same time as Anna and the two youngest Whistler boys, Jimmy, and William, born in 1836. Tom quickly made himself part of the Whistler family circle. It is not hard to imagine the esteem that Jimmy Whistler developed for young Tom Winans, just thirteen years his senior, during the six years they lived together in Russia. Quick to grasp his opportunities, Winans made a fortune there while still a young man.

In St. Petersburg the Whistler apartment overlooked the imposing Neva river, where a vast array of ships sailed in and out from all over the world. Nearby was the Winter Palace and next to it, the Hermitage, with its innumerable paintings by Dutch, Flemish, and French masters. The city was one of almost unbelievable opulence, with the pomp and circumstance of the court everywhere in evidence. Though Anna's Presbyterian conscience made her frown on these royal revelries, she established a hospitable household with dancing and skating parties, Sunday observances, and traditional American holidays. Jimmy—called Jem or Jemie by his family—was rapidly approaching his adolescence in this exciting new environment. Having an independent nature, he slowly began to disengage himself from Anna's watchful eye. He enrolled in drawing classes at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, learned to speak fluent French, and took a greater interest in his father's world.<sup>11</sup>

George Whistler was a handsome, intelligent, broadly talented man whose worldly success and reputation and highly regarded character suggest that he had a far greater influence on his artist son than biographers and art historians generally have taken into account. As Jem entered his teens his father, whom he closely resembled, was in charge of an immense, far-reaching, and innovative railroad enterprise both in terms of its design and management. He had 30,000 men, many of them serfs (slaves), under his supervision. In the city and at court George Washington Whistler was a popular and important man, the best-liked American in St. Petersburg since John Quincy Adams had served there as United States envoy.<sup>12</sup> As Americans began to identify the railroad with the fulfillment of their manifest destiny—"The spirit of the republic grasps it . . . as the benefactor of man, and the power which stamps the character of the present age"—reports of George Whistler's progress in Russia were printed in the United States. "Across the



FIGURE 1. Major George Washington Whistler (1803–1849), father of James, probably executed before his departure for Russia in 1842. (Albert Parry, *Whistler's Father* [Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939], opposite p. 36.)

Steppes of the Volga and through the Passes of the Ural Mountains will roll the swift American locomotive, pealing notes of nobler victories than those of the reddest warfare—the triumphs of American mechanical genius,” noted the *Scientific American*.<sup>13</sup> In March, 1846, the czar personally presented George Washington Whistler with the Order of St. Anne.

Unfortunately Jimmy came down with rheumatic fever at this time, causing Anna to take the children to England. It was there that Jem’s spirited, intelligent, and musically talented half sister met Seymour Haden, an English physician with a keen interest in etching whose brother-in-law was Kirk Boott, Jr. Anna Whistler seems to have encouraged a swift courtship. Debo, delight of her father’s life, became engaged to Seymour in August, and in October they were married in London. George met Haden for the first time, in Jimmy’s presence, only two days before the wedding.<sup>14</sup> It is not certain that George was pleased. Following the wedding he returned to Russia with Anna, leaving Jimmy with the Hadens. During the winter Haden introduced Whistler to the study of etching.<sup>15</sup>

Jem, now fourteen, never saw his father again.



Tragically, the promise that George Whistler’s active and productive life offered to his family and country was obliterated by his untimely death from cholera in 1849. Anna, bolstered by her strong religious faith, honored her husband’s deathbed request to return to America so their sons could fulfill their heritage as

United States citizens. She settled in Pomfret, Connecticut, where the boys attended Christ Church Hall school. Two years later, on the recommendation of Massachusetts Whig Daniel Webster, James Whistler received an appointment to attend West Point. He intended to pursue a military career, following the precedent set by his beloved father, his grandfather, elder half brother George William, and both his paternal and maternal uncles.

When the Whistlers left Russia, the threat of revolution permeated Europe, including Russia. Upon returning to America, they found the political climate sectionally oriented and vengeful. The Compromise of 1850, passed with Webster's active support, did not assuage the situation. Webster was roundly pilloried by New York's radical Democrats, also called "Barnburners," who bolted the Democratic party when James Polk instead of Martin Van Buren was nominated for the presidency. Among the disenchanted was William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *Evening Post*, acclaimed poet and longtime booster of Hudson River School artists who included Frederic Church. They were now joined by the newly formed "Conscience" Whigs—mostly from New England and upper New York State—as well as such antislavery spokesmen as Ralph Waldo Emerson. All were intent on tarnishing Webster's once-brilliant reputation just when he was sponsoring Whistler's West Point candidacy.

One may assume that as Whistler entered West Point, his political inclinations, to the extent they existed, would have been unsympathetic to the acrimony northern politicians increasingly directed toward the South. Colonel Robert E. Lee of Virginia, friend and admirer of George Whistler, was superintendent of the academy when Whistler attended it, and his fellow cadets included J. E. B. Stuart, George Washington Custis Lee (Lee's son and grandson of Martha Washington), and Lee's nephew, Fitzhugh Lee.<sup>16</sup> Lee's direct filial connection to George Washington would have impressed Jem, sensitive to the recent loss of his father—Lee's friend and Washington's namesake. It was at West Point that James Adams Whistler changed his middle name to McNeill after his Southern forebears.

Whistler always kept a larger share of this West Point identity within himself than one might suspect from his bohemian style. It informed his actions and was manifest in his bearing and physical carriage. He never lost his respect for the tradition and tone of the academy, where self-discipline was instilled from the moment the cadets arrived. The code of honor that remained uppermost in his value system throughout his life,<sup>17</sup> was thoroughly personified in the behavior of Robert E. Lee, who never let his personal feelings interfere with his high sense of duty, even when his own nephews needed disciplining. In the last days before secession, before becoming a Confederate officer, Lee wrote, "I wish to serve under no other government, and there is no sacrifice I am not ready to make to preserve the Union save that of honour."<sup>18</sup>

Shortly before Whistler's final term he was dismissed from the academy, ostensibly due to a surplus of demerits and involvement in a controversy with his chemistry professor over the nature of silicone. Given Whistler's intelligence and ability to control his behavior, however, he may have engineered his dismissal in a way least injurious to his mother's hopes, once he had decided to become an artist.<sup>19</sup>

By June 1854, when Jem made an extended stopover in New York City, pas-

sage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened the western territories to "squatter sovereignty" after many years of bickering over slavery in the territories. Introduced by Senator Stephen Douglas, then "the most popular man in the Northwest,"<sup>20</sup> the measure created an even greater outcry among radical Democrats and Conscience Whigs than had the Compromise of 1850. Bryant placed himself in the thick of the battle, straining the *Evening Post's* political alliances and doing his utmost to thwart Douglas's political ambitions.<sup>21</sup> This feverish pitch was accompanied by a full-blown touting of the city's rapidly swelling ambitions, grandly articulated by the newly established *New York Times*, which boasted that the city was the purest product of the "perfecting skill, magnificent commerce and boundless enterprise" of the progressive age.<sup>22</sup> Much of the dissension over the Kansas-Nebraska Act was due to rival sectional ambitions implicit in the railroad race. In 1854 when the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad crossed the Mississippi River, New Englander John Adams Dix, a member of Van Buren's inner circle, journeyed to Davenport, Iowa, where he announced before a spellbound crowd: "We are on our way to the Pacific and we intend to go there." Moreover, he added, "We will continue to draw men and means from the East, and especially from New England, 'the northern hive' of this continent, sending out her legions . . . to extend the arts of civilization, [and] carry the hardy virtues of the Pilgrims to the furthest reaches of this expanding country."<sup>23</sup>

Concurrently the B&O reached the Ohio River, bringing the prosperity its founders had envisioned. As a result the Winans locomotive works was booming in 1854, and early that year Jem's brother, George William, superintendent and partner in the company, had moved to Baltimore. In September Jem followed, visiting the city for the first and only time in his life. George's friend, George Lucas of Baltimore, Jimmy's future benefactor and art agent in Paris, noted the following in his diary on 15 February 1854: "[George] Whistler returned from Baltimore & announced to me his engagement to Miss [Julia] Winans & his proposed intention of living in future in Baltimore . . . to go into business with Ross Winans." Lucas was a civil engineer who, like James Whistler, had failed to graduate from West Point; recently he had moved to New York from New Haven, where he had worked under George, Jr., then superintendent of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad. From New York Lucas could more easily return to Baltimore to visit his terminally ill father, publisher Fielding Lucas, to whom he was devoted. He was also able to visit the art galleries, where he frequently bought paintings for his friends, including George Whistler.<sup>24</sup>

In Baltimore, Jimmy must have been surprised to find a relatively mild reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Baltimoreans stood "four square for compromise and quiet." In that spirit the assembly voted unanimously to have the Maryland stone in the Washington Monument record the state's "cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to the Union."<sup>25</sup> Like Jem's deceased father and elder step brother, Baltimoreans were nationalist in sentiment, wishing to see the diversity of the nation's various regions balanced, instead of transformed by one section into a culturally homogeneous entity, which Southerners perceived to be the persistent aim of descendants of New England Puritans such as Frederic Church and William Cullen Bryant. During Whistler's stay in the city its population of 160,000 made it third largest in the country, behind only New York and Philadelphia. It was a

cosmopolitan city that included not only Unitarians, but Catholics, Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Jews, Swedenborgians, and a very few of Puritan descent. It had a more extensive tradition of visual arts than either New York or Boston. Many prominent citizens of this commercial community were French, Scots-Irish, and German. In this respect the city was more reminiscent of the diversity and culture Whistler had experienced in Russia than other American towns he had known.

Happily, Jimmy Whistler's friend Tom Winans was in residence. He had returned from Russia in 1851, two million dollars richer and wed to a Russian wife of French-Italian descent.<sup>26</sup> Jimmy stayed with the Winanses—at their spectacular homes Alexandroffsky and Crimea—instead of with George or Anna, who had established herself with Willie in a pleasant house a short distance from the Winans home.<sup>27</sup> Apparently Anna, George, and Tom agreed that the Winanses offered the most compatible environment for the errant Jimmy, and he must have been delighted by their decision. Lavish hospitality gave Tom an opportunity to repay George Washington Whistler's generosity to him as a young man in Russia.

Both Jemie and Willie went to work at the Winans Company, but Jem's "flightiness" perplexed his elders. An apprentice in the locomotive works of Frederick Mills reported:

Jem never really worked. He spent much of his time in Baltimore loitering about the drawing rooms and shops, and at my desk in Tom Winans' house. We all had boards with paper, carefully stretched, which Jem would cover with sketches, to our great disgust, obliging us to stretch fresh ones, but we loved him all the same. He would also ruin all our best pencils, sketching not only on the paper, but also on the smoothly finished backs of the drawing boards, which, I think, he preferred to the paper side. We kept some of the sketches for a long time. I had a beauty—a cavalier in a dungeon cell, with one small window high up. In all his work at that time he was very Rembrandtesque, but, of course, only amateurish. Nevertheless, he was studying and working out effects.<sup>28</sup>

Whistler gave one sketch of cavaliers to Baltimore artist Frank Blackwell Mayer (1827–1899), who collected drawings from fellow artists and that year received a similar one from Richard Caton Woodville.<sup>29</sup> Woodville, only twenty-eight, already had made a name for himself, having had three pictures selected for engraving by the American Art-Union. His popular *Politics in The Oyster House*, painted in 1848 while training in Düsseldorf, hung in the Baltimore parlor of the Winanses' friend, lawyer John H. B. Latrobe, architect Benjamin Latrobe's son. In the forefront of Baltimore's artistic community, Mayer had organized the Maryland Artists' Association in 1847, with Alfred Jacob Miller, Fielding Lucas, and John H. B. Latrobe among its members. His journal, filled with comments that convey the breadth and character of artistic activity in the city, regretfully tapers off just before Whistler's arrival and hence records nothing of Jem's activities. Mayer's May 1854 notes on Woodville, who arrived home from England earlier in the year, nonetheless provide a glimpse of the extensive degree of artistic interest and sophistication that existed in Baltimore during Whistler's visit.

Caton Woodville is here on a visit to his family. . . . Woodville is a disciple of the "Pre Raphaelites," a body of artists who [urged] by the writings of Ruskin to more

earnest observation of nature and comparison of the present state of art with what they consider her appearance are seeking to restore art to that purity which was characteristic of the Early Italian masters, and taking it up where they left it, to unite to their purity of feeling and intention such beauties, as the recent inventions in Science, particularly photography and the camera, reveal to us.<sup>30</sup>

In 1853 the founding of the first American art magazine, *The Crayon*, by New Englander William James Stillman (following a visit with Ruskin in England) and John Durand (son of Hudson River landscape painter Asher Durand) did much to generate Ruskin's influence in this country. The editors highly praised his aesthetic teachings, and the reputation of Hudson River School artists like Frederic Church would be based largely on the extent to which they reflected Ruskin's tenets. It was not a style popular in Baltimore, where the neo-classical tradition of drawing and figure painting had been held in high esteem since the days of Maximillian Godefroy, Benjamin Latrobe, Rembrandt Peale, and Fielding Lucas—with landscape painting accorded its traditional low level in the hierarchy of artistic subject matter. Cultural perceptions in Baltimore were also sensitive to aesthetic genius of an iconoclastic nature. Edgar Allan Poe, for example, received his first encouragement from Baltimoreans John H. B. Latrobe and John Pendleton Kennedy, among others. Poe's poetry and art criticism found a more sympathetic reception in Baltimore than in New York, where Bryant and other admirers of Ruskin aesthetics and Hudson River landscapes had little good to say of the Southern poet. For his part Poe condemned the "incendiary doggerel" of the Wordsworthian "Lake School" of poetry, including Bryant's and Longfellow's.<sup>31</sup> It is not surprising, then, to find that Baltimoreans encouraged Whistler's talents, much as they had Poe's.

Toil in the locomotive works was so little to Jem's liking that after the holidays he went to Washington to appeal directly to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. When Davis, after investigating the matter "regretted," as Whistler put it, "with gravity, the impossibility" of reinstating him at the academy, Whistler accepted in good grace the judgment of this "Southern gentleman, who had the code."<sup>32</sup> Whistler's regard for Davis was no doubt akin to that of one Baltimorean who, having met Davis about this time, described him as manifesting "that straightforward, whole-souled sincerity which particularly belongs to the Southern character and in which there is none of the inflexible hardness and prying calculation of Plymouth Rock."<sup>33</sup> Davis suggested that Whistler call on Captain Benham of the United States Coast Survey, another old friend of Whistler's father, to see if he might not find "a post waiting for me there." Whistler thus received an appointment in the drawing division of the Coast Survey, where he received instruction in etching and engraving on copper. The vigorous demands and standards of the instruction he received at the survey were crucial to his future development as one of the world's leading printmakers.<sup>34</sup>

One of Whistler's fellow draftsmen was the young artist John Ross Key, grandson of Francis Scott Key and good friend of many Baltimoreans, including Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, to whom he was related. Key introduced Whistler to the engravers in the drawing department and subsequently watched with awe as he produced his first etching. Key's account appeared years later in *Century Magazine*:

I went with Whistler to introduce him to the men of the department. Mr. McCoy, one of the best engravers in the office, a kindly, genial Irishman, listened while I explained our mission. He then went over the whole process with us. . . . Whistler was intensely interested . . . listened attentively . . . asked a few questions, and squinted inquisitively through his half-closed eyes at the samples of work placed before him. Having been provided with a copper plate . . . I watched him with unabated interest from the moment he began his work until he completed it. . . .

Key never saw Whistler after he left Washington a month or so later, but he retained gracious memories of him, similar, we may assume, to those of the Baltimoreans whom Whistler met. "I cannot understand," wrote Key,

how a man of his undoubted genius could have remained so long unrecognized in an art center like London, as I have heard he was. Nor can I comprehend how it could be possible for one of so kindly a nature in youth to become as embittered as he is reported to have been when he grew older, or how he could have acquired the "Gentle Art of Making Enemies." It certainly must have been "gentle." It could hardly have been otherwise as I remember him. In his art he had the unmistakable stamp of genius, for his work was purely emotional, coupled with an inherent power of expression which is never the result of industry or method acquired by earnest study . . . He had no bad habits, and did not smoke. His manners were quiet and sedate, and his attractive personality interested everyone with whom he came in contact, and I never knew anyone to say an unkind word of him.<sup>35</sup>

Despite making important artistic progress in Washington, or perhaps because of having done so, Whistler left the Coast Survey in February, 1855, determined to become an artist. "Bring on your easel and brushes and I will find you a place to paint here, that will ease your pocket and give you practice—and perhaps fame," wrote Winans. Jem returned to Baltimore and there painted his first oils of consequence, which were purchased by Tom Winans, his first patron.<sup>36</sup>

On 11 July Whistler turned twenty-one. Three weeks later he obtained a visa for France and his brother George agreed to provide him with a small annuity to enable him to study art abroad. Tom Winans noted in his journal, "Loaned Jas. A. Whistler \$450. George W[illiam] will settle it"<sup>37</sup> A few days later Jem left Baltimore, carrying with him impressions that would last throughout his life. He would remember Baltimore as the most congenial American city in which he had lived, receptive to his personal predilection for things French acquired in St. Petersburg. He met Baltimoreans who responded to his talent with interest, tolerated his eccentricities with good humor, and, by reflecting his father's cultural and nationalistic persuasions, gave him new confidence in his background and individuality. This applied to the clothes he wore—vaguely old-fashioned, slightly southern-planter and decidedly out of keeping with the increasingly popular dark, drab, Yankee business suit<sup>38</sup>—and even to the style of his hair, worn in a manner similar to that of his father and the elderly Ross Winans. And at West Point he had learned his father's "code" from Robert E. Lee. Thus, as the nation began to split into sections, James Whistler's natural sympathies leaned southward.



In Paris Whistler's wit, sophistication, social grace and extroverted manner, along with his bizarre dress, which included a wide-brimmed, low-crown straw hat



with a dangling ribbon, quickly attracted attention. On the recommendation of fellow Baltimoreans, Jem entered the atelier of neo-classicist Glèyre, follower of Raphael and Ingres and successor to Jacques-Louis David, with whom Rembrandt Peale had studied.<sup>39</sup> At Glèyre's Whistler made the acquaintance of a number of young Englishmen studying to become artists, including Tom Armstrong and George Du Maurier, future illustrator for *Punch*. Despite these friendships and the fact that he rapidly became known as one of Du Maurier's "Paris Gang," he was "never wholly one of us," according to Armstrong, who related that Whistler laughed at Englishmen and their ways, "above all their boxing and sparring matches." But, said Armstrong, "he understood the French and they understood him." In Paris he mastered the academic teachings of Glèyre, was influenced by Courbet's political realism, and regarded Rembrandt, Hals, and Velasquez as the masters who most influenced him. His admiration for Poe, fellow "Baltimorean" and West Point man, grew as he found it shared by important French men of letters such as Baudelaire.<sup>40</sup> Also partaking of these Parisian wonders was George Lucas, who arrived in the city a year after Whistler. After the death of his father, George received a modest inheritance approximately equal to his former earnings as a civil engineer and thus was able to give up the career he disliked almost as much as Jem and immerse himself in the world of art. What better place than Paris? Like Whistler he never returned to the United States. Whistler often turned to Lucas when in greatest need.



FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Portrait of Whistler*, 1859. This etching and drypoint depicts Whistler in the "bizarre" dress for which he was known. (Maria Naylor, *Selected Etchings of James A. McN. Whistler* [New York: Dover Publications, 1975], plate 29.)



Despite Whistler's obvious affinity for the French, his mother was eager to have him make England his home. If Jimmy were in London where Debo and Seymour Haden lived, Anna would be assured of some family supervision.<sup>41</sup> Eventually she and the Hadens prevailed, but for the present Whistler continued to study in Paris. In 1857 he met the printer, Eugene Delâtre, with whom he established a close association. It was in Delâtre's studio, standing at his side as he worked, that "he perfected his early style of drawing, biting, and drypoint." There also he was introduced to the art of the Japanese woodcut, which influence would soon find expression in his art.<sup>42</sup> In November, 1858, Whistler went to London to stay with the Hadens, and in 1859, Delâtre joined him. In Haden's etching studio at the top of the house, furnished with every piece of equipment (including a press) an etcher could want, Whistler and Delâtre printed *Twelve Etchings From Life*, the so-called "French set." Whistler dedicated it to Haden. Anna was overjoyed.<sup>43</sup>

That winter Whistler began his first important oil painting, *At The Piano*, with a composition already suggesting Japanese influence. After finishing it in the spring, he went briefly to Paris to enter it in the Paris Salon of April 1859. When it was rejected, he returned to London, staying first with the Hadens, then taking rooms in Wapping, near the London docks, where he lived with Du Maurier. Together they became quite the young men about town, when not hard at work painting and promoting their artistic careers. By October Whistler was working on his second important painting, *Wapping*, a severely realistic dock scene which included the figure of Joanna Hefferman, a red-haired Irish girl who became both his model and mistress. Whistler was on his way to becoming a major artist, with memories of his former frustrations and failures behind him. For the first time in many years the gods seemed to smile upon him—but not for long.

Shortly after Whistler started work on *Wapping*, Lincoln was elected president on an exclusively sectional ticket, receiving not a single electoral vote in Maryland. Though Maryland was a slave state, slavery was not, to her citizens, the paramount issue. Their major fear was that a Civil War would ensure the political, economic, and cultural dominance of the North.

Whistler followed the beginning of the war with great interest.<sup>44</sup> He could hardly have done otherwise. It was everywhere in the news, and his mother's letters kept him abreast of developments, including the fact that she followed Willie, who became a Confederate, to Richmond after his marriage. Yet few letters written to Jem between 1861 and 1863 (when his mother, George and Julia Whistler, and Tom Winans arrived in Europe) survive in the family's otherwise extensive correspondence. Nor is there any personal correspondence of political significance for those years in the large collection of Winans papers at the Maryland Historical Society—despite the fact that emotions ran extremely high in Baltimore, and Ross Winans, Sr., was in the middle of events. Such omissions suggest that the letters Whistler received from his family and friends at the beginning of the Civil War contained pro-Southern sentiments that influenced his behavior and the work he produced in those years.

By Christmas, 1860, news of Lincoln's election reached London, which may account for the fact that on Christmas Day Whistler avoided the usual festivities and instead began painting *The 25th of December, 1860* (later called *The Thames on Ice*). He completed the work in only three days, far less than the time it took to

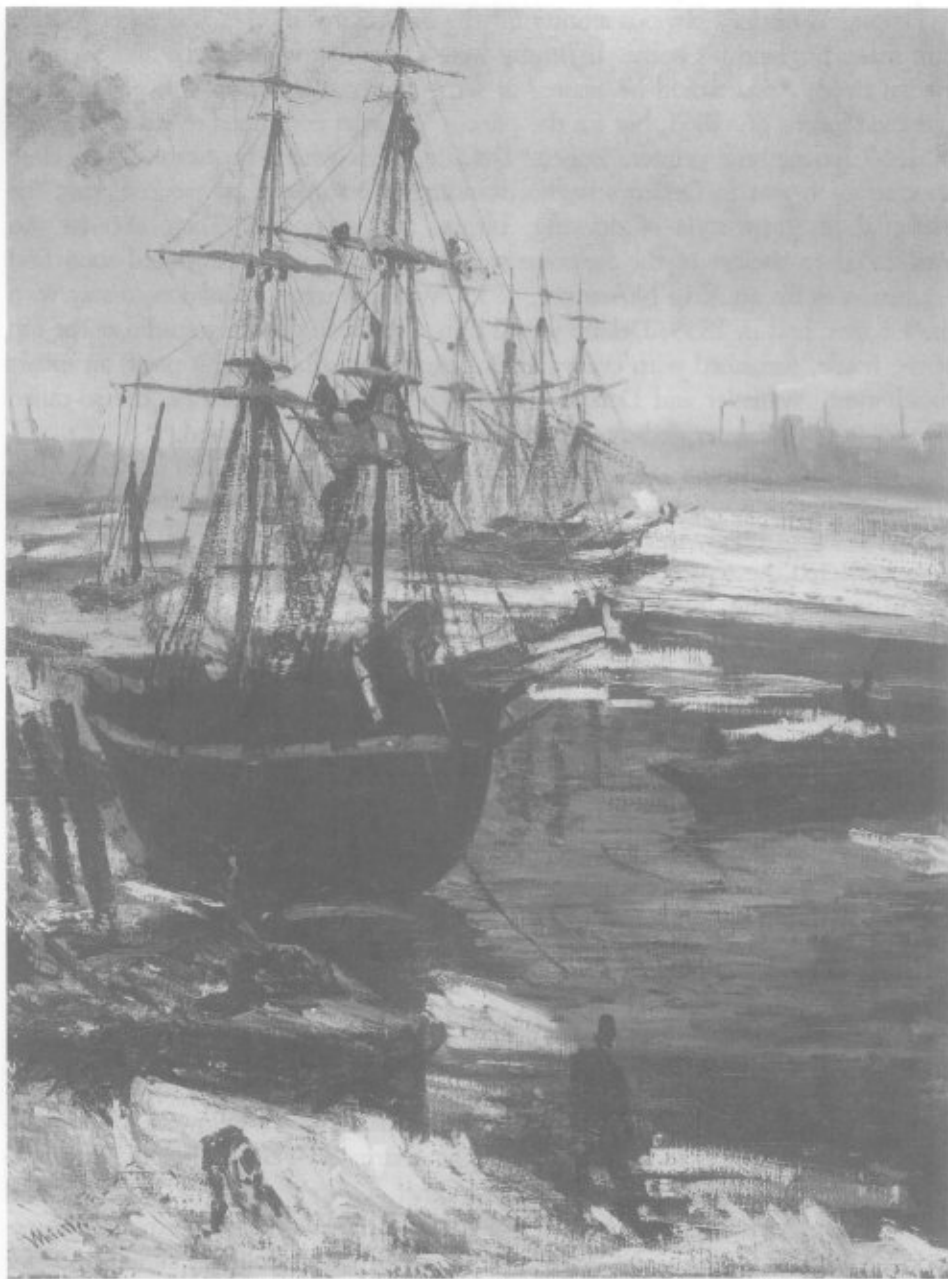


FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *The Thames in Ice* (or “The 25th of December, 1860”), 1860. Oil on canvas. (Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

paint the meticulously executed *At the Piano* and *Wapping*. “For an idle apprentice it was a strange way of spending Christmas”—a far cry, surely, from his usual holiday antics. The Pennells further recalled that Haden bought the work for ten pounds. “‘Ample pay,’ Haden said, ‘—three pounds for each of three days he spent painting it, and a pound over.’”<sup>45</sup>

*The 25th of December, 1860* appears to have sprung from a sudden emotional need. Featuring a large cargo brig trapped in the frozen Thames River—trade

center of the British empire—the scene may have reminded Whistler of the Neva River as it appeared during Russian winters, when all marine transportation ended. The full-masted ship, painted black, is not only frozen in but beached by the low tide, its carefully placed anchor line leading the eye directly to a solitary figure on the snowy bank below, also painted in black, to emphasize their mutual identity. Across the icy river can be seen smokestacks, such as Whistler knew in Lowell, presenting “the grimy hallmark of the industrial revolution” in subtle contrast to the old-fashioned sailing ship, soon to become obsolete.<sup>46</sup> The scene is adamantly cold and bleak, reflecting Whistler’s mood upon hearing of Lincoln’s election, recognizing, as he did, that it would assure the continued American ascendance of the industrial “progress” already established in England. Convinced as he was that he was facing a new world not to his liking, his mood was not one he could share with his English friends or his in-laws, whose personal sympathies were so closely tied to the Boott family, benefactors of Lowell, Massachusetts, and the industrial North. What to do, then, but take up his brushes and paint like fury until his immediate frustration and despair subsided?

The following spring Whistler executed a rare drypoint even more quickly and spontaneously. Done in a slashing style reminiscent of works by both Hokusai and Braquemond and entitled simply *The Storm*, it depicts a man, head down, trudging along against a driving rainstorm. Whistler made only four impressions, one of which he gave to Delâtre, before cancelling the plate. The Japanese influence is clear, as is the subject: a man beleaguered by the elements, yet determined to continue on despite the rough weather he has encountered.<sup>47</sup> Might not the Civil War and its implications for this maturing artist and “West Point man” constitute the storm that has blown across his path?

During this period Whistler became belligerent for the first time, and “without



FIGURE 4. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *The Storm*, 1861. Drypoint on rice paper. Only four impressions are known to have been made of this work before Whistler cancelled the plate. This image is from the cancelled plate. (From the author’s collection.)

apparent cause," according to his chorus of biographers. In July he became seriously ill and suddenly departed for Paris, where he had an altercation with a coachman, his first recorded violent encounter. Later he had a serious contretemps with his friend, Ernest Delaney. On his doctor's advice he left Paris for Brittany, where he remained for three months during the summer of 1861. While there he received one of Anna Whistler's few extant letters from this period. Writing from Richmond 21 July 1860, she complained about Willie's wife. "Ida has made Willie a thorough secessionist, thus verifying the saying 'a man forsakes all for his wife.' " As for me, she maintained, "I know no North, I know no South."<sup>48</sup> Perhaps she intended this as counsel, to give Jimmy the strength he needed to keep his emotions on an even keel.

In any case, while in Brittany Whistler painted *Alone with the Tide*, (later retitled *The Coast of Brittany*). Art historians have chiefly noted its similarity to Courbet's style. "A beautiful thing," Whistler was to say years afterward.<sup>49</sup> Might it have remained "beautiful" to him because it so truly mirrored his feelings at that time? Was not Whistler immeasurably alone—especially in England—given his artistic aims? George purchased the painting in 1863, and it remained in his family until well after his death.<sup>50</sup> When Anna Whistler told her son that she knew no North, no South, she expressed a view that many Baltimoreans tried to maintain throughout the trying times Lincoln's election ushered in, and while Jimmy spent the summer painting in Brittany, trying to get his emotions on an even keel, events in Baltimore took an alarming turn.



In order to give some idea of the depth of the conflicting emotions that characterized these events, well known to Baltimoreans, one must read the accounts of relatively moderate witnesses. It was the emotional reaction to these events, not the facts established by historical hindsight, that had a bearing on Whistler's personal responses at the time. In Maryland, according to Mayor George William Brown, the president's proclamation calling for troops after the shelling of Fort Sumter was received "with mingled feelings in which astonishment, dismay, and disapprobation were predominant." "An immediate effect of the proclamation," he wrote further, "was to intensify the feeling of hostility in the wavering States, and to drive four of them into secession." With carefully concealed animosity, Brown later explained that the 6th Massachusetts was among the first troops to march in obedience to the president's call.

It had a full band and regimental staff. Mustered at Lowell on the morning of the 16th, the day after the proclamation was issued, four companies from Lowell presented themselves, and to these were added two from Lawrence, one from Groton, one from Acton, and one from Worcester; and when the regiment reached Boston, at one o'clock, an additional company was added from that city and another from Stoneham, making eleven in all—about seven hundred men.<sup>51</sup>

Morgan Dix—rector of Trinity Church in New York City, married to a Southerner, and son of John Adams Dix—described the march of the 6th Massachusetts in that city as a scene never to be forgotten. "The North rose as one man," he recalled.



FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Coast of Brittany* (or “Alone with the Tide”), 1861. Oil on canvas. (Courtesy of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. In memory of William Arnold Healy, given by his daughter, Susie Healy Camp.)

By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel. . . . At last a low murmur was heard; it sounded something like a gasp of men in suspense; and the cause was that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets . . . their course could be traced out in the open street in front. . . . Then the drums rolled out the time—the regiment was in motion. And then the band, bursting into full volume, struck up—what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen?—“Yankee Doodle.” Instantly there arose a sound such as . . . is never heard more than once in a lifetime. . . . One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation . . . naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge—one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left: the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New York was going.<sup>52</sup>

In Baltimore the boys from Lowell and other points in Massachusetts received a different welcome. Marylanders not only resented the strident tone of Massachusetts abolitionism—bringing, many thought, the Civil War into being; they also remembered with keen displeasure the Hartford Convention, convened in 1814 a few weeks after the citizens of Baltimore had successfully defended their city against the British. Backed by the governor of Massachusetts and many of the state’s first citizens, the purpose of that convention had been to resist a call to arms by Presi-

dent Madison, and some New Englanders (William Cullen Bryant then among them) had advocated secession. Hence in 1861 the mayor of Baltimore noted with particular distaste that a Massachusetts regiment was fully armed and ready to march through the streets of Baltimore only four days after Civil War had erupted. Though an unarmed regiment of Pennsylvania militia had passed through the city without incident the day before, the 6th Massachusetts on 19 April met and fired into a mob, and, after boarding the train for Washington, shot and killed a well-loved citizen who was watching by the tracks. Four of the Massachusetts regiment were killed, thirty-six wounded. Twelve Baltimoreans were killed; the number wounded was never ascertained.

Reaction in the city was immediate. "Thirty six hours ago a majority of our people were for peaceable separation, and I may say, for peace at all hazards," Jabez Pratt, born in Boston, wrote to his brother John on 22 April, "but now the man does not exist who is not for the defense of our city against the inroads or passage of troops from the North." John's reply closed by stating, "You will be proud to say, 'I was born in Boston.' " Jabez fired back, "As for being proud of Massachusetts, if my relations could be moved from the scene I would like nothing better then to see Massachusetts and South Carolina swallow each other up, and I believe it would be a good thing for the world if it could be accomplished. We do not want war, much less a war of sections."<sup>53</sup> Violence involving the 6th Massachusetts polarized political sentiment in Baltimore as nothing else had done. To the extent that Whistler had become a Baltimorean in spirit and attitude, his response to the Lowell troops' shootings would have been similar to those of his fellow citizens.

Yet, for Whistler, whose closest Baltimore friends were the Winans, there was more. On the night of 13 May, without warning to city officials, a detachment of Boston Light Artillery, the 6th Massachusetts Infantry, and five hundred men of the 8th New York, all commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts (later dubbed "Beast Butler") entered Baltimore and took command of Federal Hill. Though Butler had assumed his seizure of the city would be met with bloodshed, Brown wrote that "there was nobody to oppose him and nobody thought of doing so." Butler "immediately issued a proclamation, as if it were a conquered city subject to military law."<sup>54</sup>

The next day, following adjournment of the General Assembly, General Butler arrested the outspoken secessionist Ross Winans and charged him with high treason. Butler explained the rationale for doing so in his autobiography:

A Baltimorean by the name of Ross Winans, a gray-haired old man of more than three score and ten, a bitter rebel, and reputed to be worth \$15,000,000, was going to make a secession speech on Monday night, and I believed that if we captured him and carried him to Annapolis, organizing a military commission and proving upon him his treasonable acts . . . he would be a very proper specimen to be hanged. . . . [I] also thought that if such a man, worth \$15,000,000, were hanged for treason, it would convince the people of Maryland . . . that we were engaged in suppressing treasonable rebellion. And as my act in giving such an example could not be repudiated by the government unless it hanged me, I considered that the object in view was such as to justify the hazard of the experiment on my part.<sup>55</sup>

Fortunately cooler heads prevailed. Winans's lawyer, John H. B. Latrobe, immediately enlisted the services of Reverdy Johnson, who had tried many a railroad

case both in concert with, and in opposition to, Abraham Lincoln. Johnson rushed to Washington and within forty-eight hours acquired an executive order releasing Winans. Then on 1 September, under orders from Butler's successor, Major General Nathaniel Banks (also a Massachusetts officer), fourteen citizens—including Ross Winans, the mayor, a state senator, a congressman, and two newspaper editors, Francis Key Howard and William Glenn—were taken from their homes. Placed first in Fort McHenry, they eventually went to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, where they remained for over a year as “prisoners of state.” During his confinement, Ross Winans wrote a treatise, *One Religion, Many Creeds*, published in 1870.<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile, Winans's youngest son, Ross, Jr., sailed for Paris, arriving shortly before Whistler returned from his summer in Brittany. Jem immediately did an etching of Winans, and the gist and tenor of his recapitulation of events in Baltimore as he sat for his portrait one can easily imagine. Yet the portrait offers no clue; there is not the slightest sense of outrage, frustration, chagrin, or hostility on Winans's vaguely reflective countenance. Whistler's portrait depicts Ross as a serenely mild-mannered man, attentive to the care of his musical instruments. Possibly this was Whistler's intention, to give the lie to any thoughts that members of the Winans family, especially one named of Ross, could be anything but a peace



FIGURE 6. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Ross Winans (Jr.)*, 1861 or 1862. Etching and drypoint. Maria Naylor, *Selected Etchings of James A. McN. Whistler* [New York: Dover Publications, 1975], plate 44.)



loving, cultural, law-abiding citizen. Certainly it is inconceivable that Whistler would not have heard the full tale, in all of its horror.

Yet Whistler's consuming aim was to become a fully accomplished artist, and necessarily—due to his father's untimely death—a self-supportive one. To accomplish this end, he recognized that his patrons would have to be men of means like Church's closest friend and patron, William H. Osborn, president of the Illinois Central Railroad (for which Lincoln had been chief counsel). Because of his family's involvement in the railroad business from its inception, Jem fully understood the nature of the nation's railroad investors, some of whom had already made fortunes, more of whom would do so as a result of the Civil War. In this respect, he could read the tea leaves.<sup>57</sup>

It did not take a genius to recognize the significance of one of the Republicans' first acts in power. No longer having to contend with the demands of the seceding states in Congress, they swiftly enacted a bill authorizing a continental railroad from Chicago (in Lincoln's home state) to San Francisco. Thus, should the North win the war, the great railroad fortunes would be made by Northerners, who would spend their money on the embellishment of their environments, just as Tom Winans and William Walters of Baltimore had done on theirs. They would surely purchase paintings. Walters, now in Paris, only recently had acquired Frederic Church's *Twilight in the Wilderness* (1860) and had exhibited it in Baltimore before leaving for Europe.<sup>58</sup>

Jem was not inclined, therefore, to do anything overtly to jeopardize his central ambition, least of all to proclaim his Civil War sympathies in a manner to alienate future patrons or the public. Still, he was a "West Point man," in spirit if not fact. Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Whistler's brother Willie, and many of Whistler's West Point friends had sided with the Confederacy. The boys from Massachusetts had shot some of Baltimore's citizens, and one of their officers had thrown the elderly Ross Winans in jail. Whistler could chart a proper course in his mind. But what of his heart? On 3 December 1861, using Joanna as his model, he began work on *The White Girl*. "In nothing," observed his friends the Pennells, "had Whistler been so completely himself as in *The White Girl*."<sup>59</sup> It was a bold, straight-forward, beautifully rendered and inspired statement—elusive as that statement may seem and elusive as Whistler subsequently chose to make it.

The most striking aspect of the painting is its almost exclusive use of white, which assumes significance if one perceives the issue of the Civil War as "freedom" or "honor" versus political slavery. This sentiment would later be born out by the "Stainless Banner," with its entirely white field, which in 1863 draped the bier of Stonewall Jackson.<sup>60</sup> Most Southerners, especially Whistler's friends, did not see themselves as champions of slavery so much as champions of their own destiny, their own "liberty," their simple "independence." In Baltimore, where so many great constitutional lawyers lived, there was outrage over the fact that Winans's arrest was made without benefit of the writ of habeas corpus. That being so, one can imagine how they, or Whistler at least, might have been impelled to protest the South's utter innocence. Within this context, one might perceive the issue of Southern independence as a matter of honor, perhaps most easily understood in the sense of the Revolutionary War motto "Don't tread on me."<sup>61</sup> As such, this code so respected by Whistler could be abstracted as pure white.



Joanna's flaming red hair presents a particularly puzzling and dramatic affront to the quiet dignity of her white dress and calm expression. It has been variously interpreted by critics, none of whom seems to have known that, when General Butler occupied Baltimore, he swiftly established regulations punishing any form of disloyalty, including the use of the red and white rebel colors. "They were not allowed to appear in shop-windows or on children's garments, or anywhere that might offend the Union sentiment."<sup>62</sup> The ladies of Baltimore, especially, were inclined to flaunt Butler's order. Thus, when General John Adams Dix was appointed the city's third commander in July, 1861, and immediately reaffirmed Butler's order, a spoof in the form of a broadside suddenly appeared. Entitled "General Dix's Proclamation," it stated in part that "All [pepper]mint candy and barber poles of that color [are] forbidden, and all persons having red hair, moustaches, or whiskers are hereby warned to have one or the other dyed blue. . . ."<sup>63</sup>

Painted in red and white, Joanna stands on the remains of a freshly skinned, snarling Northern wolf,<sup>64</sup> symbol of evil and destruction in European fairy tales—with spatters of blood visible beside his mouth and beneath his shoulders. Spring lilacs, denoting lost innocence, wilt on the rug behind the wolf's opened jaws. Jo holds a delicate white lily, traditional emblem of purity, downward, pointing toward the lilacs, thereby indicating the reason behind her empty stare. She reg-



FIGURE 7. "A Female Rebel in Baltimore. An Everyday Scene." This engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 7 September 1861, pictured a pro-Confederate belle parading the forbidden colors of red and white—and the response of some union troops then occupying the city. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

isters strength and forbearance in the face of profound disillusionment. A spring bouquet has dropped from her fingers to a premature death on the blue-and-white rug.<sup>65</sup> One is forced to wonder if Whistler has not made a very powerful, intensely private statement about his reactions to the Civil War.

If so, the possibility that this disturbing and strangely white painting may also owe much to Frederic Church's widely heralded *The North* (as it was known when Whistler began his painting) becomes credible. In Whistler's mind *The White Girl* could have served as his answer to *The North*. Not only was Whistler's canvas painted in the same palette, but its size was unusually large for Whistler. Like all American artists at home or abroad, Whistler was aware of Church's fame as "America's greatest artist"—based on his series of oversized paintings—when the Civil War began. Though Frederic Church was an extraordinarily fine painter, much of his reputation resulted from his conscientious and perceptive image-making, not only on his own behalf, but as an extension of New England's didacticism then known as "The Great Movement."<sup>66</sup> The first of Church's "Great Paintings" was the monumental *Niagara*, exhibited in London in 1857. Though Whistler was probably not there to see it, he certainly would have heard about it from the Hadens and his artist friends. The reviews of London's art critics, including Ruskin, were enthusiastic. While in London Church not only arranged for *Niagara's* chromolithographic reproduction but hired a manager and publicist, John McClure, son of a Glasgow publisher-dealer. Thereafter he had six more "Great Picture" showings in London, generating a formidable British following for himself and American landscape painting in general. The immense size of the paintings, as well as their subject matter, gave proof of the extensive grandeur of the American destiny, particularly for English railroad investors. When Church's *Heart of the Andes* arrived in London, Whistler was there to see for himself what 12,000 people in New York had paid twenty-five cents apiece to view.<sup>67</sup>

Though *Icebergs* did not reach London until more than a year after Whistler finished *The White Girl*, news of its appearance far preceded its arrival. On Christmas day, 1860, the *New York Tribune* announced that Church at last had "commenced upon the undertaking of painting an iceberg, the same size as that of *Heart of the Andes*, the sole object of which would be a vast and solitary iceberg, a mountain of glittering ice, with domes, and fantastical pinacles [*sic*] rising out of the ocean." More importantly *After Icebergs with a Painter*, a 360-page book heralding the painting, with tinted illustrations, appeared in New York and London in 1861. Shortly before the painting, auspiciously retitled *The North*, went on view at Goupil's in New York City, a *New York Times* editorial called attention to its "intense solitude in the clear frozen North—Nature in her utter loneliness." Given the state of North-South relations at the time, this observation clearly had political overtones. The day after the opening, art critic Henry Tuckerman wrote an especially laudatory review for Bryant's *Evening Post*. Later, the *Commercial Advertiser's* art critic pointed out that the painting fulfilled Ruskin's four precepts of artistic "truth": noble subject, love of beauty, sincerity, and invention.<sup>68</sup>

In a privately printed broadside accompanying the painting's exhibition, Louis Noble noted that because the color of an iceberg was almost entirely confined to "an opaque, dead white," Church had chosen the "brilliant hour of the late afternoon" for his depiction, thereby allowing "lights and shadows, hues and tints."<sup>69</sup>

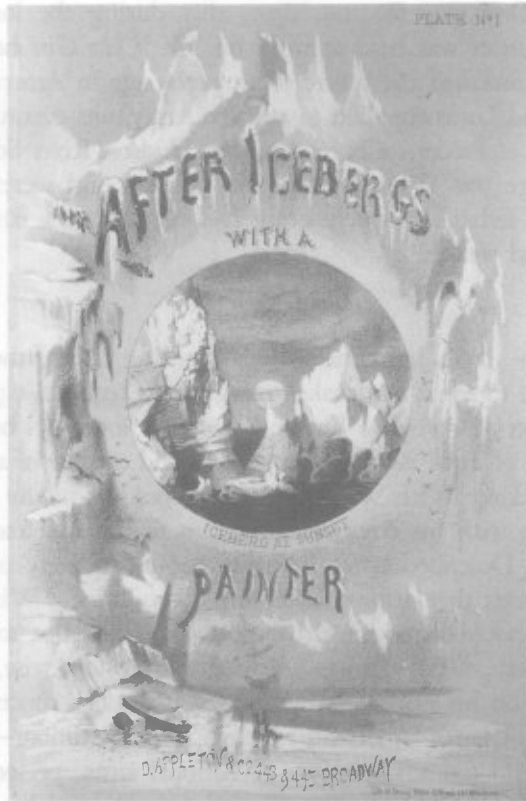


FIGURE 8. This tinted lithograph by Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) appeared as the frontispiece in both American and British editions of Louis LeGrand Noble, *After Icebergs with a Painter* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1861. Courtesy of Gerald L. Carr.)

Noble's comment may have posed an aesthetic challenge to Whistler. If Church was unable successfully to paint his icebergs in their usual, opaque whiteness, perhaps Whistler, envious of Church's talent and reputation, could show the painter of *The North* how this could be done by a Southern-sympathizing artist. Here the battle lines could be drawn. Whistler may have found a way personally to justify his sense of honor without jeopardizing his career.

Whether Whistler's *White Girl* was conceived as a "Great Picture" in response to Church's *Icebergs* depicting *The North*, is a matter of conjecture. That Whistler would have known of Church's considerable reputation and the cast of his political outlook is obvious, due not only to his association with the American and European art scene in general but with Lucas and Walters in particular. Indeed, William Walters and George Lucas were so prescient that, while Whistler was painting in Paris, Walters was simultaneously arranging for the sale of his contemporary American paintings and devising a scheme for underwriting Samuel Avery's New York art dealership to purchase contemporary paintings.<sup>70</sup> Lucas—who once had worked for John J. Johnson, a railroad magnate and future collector and benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art—would be Avery's agent in Paris. A sage and practical man, Walters was not indulging in a whimsical gamble. The nineteenth-century European artworks in the holdings of the Metropolitan Museum bear witness

to his foresight. One may assume, then, that during the long, dreary winter months when Whistler was hard at work on *The White Girl* he, Lucas, Walters, and Avery avidly discussed the future of art patronage in America. The European paintings Avery and Lucas supplied to affluent Americans eventually subverted the aesthetic authority of Frederic Church and the Hudson River School. One beneficiary of this change was Whistler, who no doubt found secret comfort in it—especially since his father's untimely death had cut short the family's participation in amassing railroad wealth.



On 22 February 1862 Jem finished his painting. His father's friend George Lucas came at once to see it and make arrangements to have it packed and sent to England.<sup>71</sup> Whistler also went to England, but after four days he returned to Paris to await the arrival of Tom Winans—the one friend capable of advising him as his father might have done. With Winans Whistler could be totally candid; on him he could rely for help with his emotional reactions to the war and sense of duty to country and career. Described as “an inventive genius, of stern common sense, with a determined character that distinguished him through life,” Winans was an ambitious man “who undertook nothing that he did not attempt to do better than it had been done before.”<sup>72</sup> The chances are that he gave Jem wise, tough, and practical advice, based on his utmost sympathy for Whistler's concerns. Winans drew upon his memory of Jem's father, his experiences in Baltimore—where the subtle intrigues common to the advancement of national aims, personal greed, cultural chauvinism and political fame were well understood—and his comprehension of men in the railroad business. Commercially Winans and his father had proved themselves capable of dealing with all parties—North and South, in Britain, France, and Russia—regardless of their personal or political sentiments. Winans expected to continue in this mode after the war was over. One may assume, then, that he would have echoed the advice of Lucas or Walters: the best thing for Jem to do if he wished to be a successful artist was to “sit tight” and “play the game”—or better, outwit them at their own game, offending as few people as possible regarding any political predilections he might have.

Whistler's subsequent actions suggest that he followed such advice. He would do things in a way best suited to further his career and achieve some of the fame and livelihood that fate had snatched from his father.<sup>73</sup> From Church, Jem had learned the value of publicity and presentation. At the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, he had learned that artists frequently paid for journalistic praise so as to increase their clientele. In Baltimore he had learned that politics motivated everything, and, since journalists were the politician's most effective weapon, an artist desirous of public favor needed to keep his politics to himself if they differed from those of well-placed art critics. In France he had come to appreciate Baudelaire's observation that “A little charlatanism is permitted genius. It even sits well. It is like the rouge on a pretty face, a new inspiration to the mind.” Though still a young man, Whistler had become wise beyond his years.<sup>74</sup> Henceforth his paintings would be conceived on two levels, one accessible to the public, one known only to himself. By inventing a formal system of expression, he became

nowhere detectable.<sup>75</sup> Although he did not have the means to hire a publicist, he apparently recognized that he was capable of churning up his own publicity.

After his meeting with Tom, Whistler sailed for England with Joanna, ready once again to take up his career in a focused and deliberate manner. Almost immediately thereafter Jo wrote Lucas saying, "I note *The White Girl* has made a fresh sensation, for and against. Some stupid painters don't understand it at all, while Millais, for instance, thinks it splendid, more like Titian and those of old Seville than anything he has seen."<sup>76</sup> When shortly thereafter the Royal Academy rejected the painting (*Wapping, The 25th of December*, and *Alone with the Tide* were all accepted), Whistler elected to show it at the newly opened Berners Street Gallery, whose avowed purpose was to place "before the public the works of young artists who may not have access to the ordinary galleries." In this way he made sure it would be noticed, for good or ill. Then, on 2 July, he wrote his first of many letters to the press. When someone suggested that the painting had been inspired by Wilkie Collins's recently published novel *Woman in White*, Whistler—seemingly provoked into his first defiant outburst of "art for art's sake"—denied the account. He had done *The White Girl* neither to illustrate Wilkie Collins's popular novel nor, inferentially, anything else that critics (or future art historians) might suggest. "My painting simply represents a girl dressed in white, standing in front of a white curtain, I am etc., James Whistler." Thus, *The White Girl* became the first of his paintings to omit overt reference to a meaningful setting or relationship.<sup>77</sup>

The following spring, as Church's painting was packed for shipment to England, Whistler wrote to George Lucas in Paris stating that he wished to enter *The White Girl* in that year's Paris Salon. If refused, he suggested that arrangements be made for it to be shown elsewhere. The upshot was that the painting was shown at the famed Salon des Refusés of 1863, where, with Manet's *Dejeuner Sur L'Herbe*, it was the "*succès de scandale*" of the exhibition. Whistler was in Amsterdam with Joanna, etcher Legros, and Haden when he received news of the Paris reception of his picture, much of it praiseworthy. He wrote Fantin Latour that he longed to be there, expressing his impatience to know just what was being said in the cafés and by the critics. He was pleased with the reaction, especially in the face of continued belittlement by the English critics.<sup>78</sup> Baudelaire found it "charming, charming, exquisite, absolutely delicate." Courbet called it "an apparition, with spiritual content," a "good" painting with excellent whites, "really superb at a distance (the real test)." The poet and critic Stéphane Mallarmé regarded Jo's abundance of red hair as a symbol of love.<sup>79</sup> Some thought that her long, flaming red tresses suggested the work of the Pre-Raphaelites. But of greatest importance to Whistler was critic Paul Manz's suggestion that the work was a "*Symphonie du Blanc*." This set in motion a train of thought that—ten years later—would result in Whistler's pronouncement of a fully realized new aesthetic. During the last year of Poe's life he had called for an apolitical aesthetic principle eliminating "the heresy of the DIDACTIC" in favor of poetry written "solely for the poem's sake." Poe had influenced Baudelaire, who suddenly became a greater source of inspiration than the political realism of Courbet.<sup>80</sup>

During the summer of 1863 Whistler returned with Joanna to England in time

to see *Icebergs* and witness "press and the public" outdoing themselves "with interest and praise." Sir Edward William Watkin, a man with extensive American railroad investments, purchased the painting. In 1851 Watkin had described North America as a "country of irresistible attraction" to everyone "who would see the realm which nature has spread out, in her largest features, for the development of the Anglo-Saxon race, to all who would see how a people can grow. . . ." <sup>81</sup> Minus its Anglo-Saxon emphasis, this vision had motivated the Whistlers, the Winans, and many Baltimoreans. Whistler's father had done much toward bringing it to fruition. But for George Washington Whistler it had never been a vision to be translated into sectional power.

One could carry the careers of Whistler and Church farther along in time, noting, for example, Church's inability to capture French favor at the Exposition Universelle in 1867, when the American entries were selected by an American jury headed by Samuel Avery. The jury rejected the entry of Baltimorean Frank Mayer, suspected of being a Southern sympathizer, even though his paintings had been accepted by the French Salon for several years. <sup>82</sup> John Adams Dix, who took a great interest in the entries, then served as United States ambassador to France. Through Avery, Lucas was able to prevail upon the jury to accept *The White Girl* as well as *December 25, 1860*, which was judiciously renamed *Sur La Tamise: l'Hiver*. Meanwhile in the United States Henry Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists* appeared in 1867. Tuckerman devoted sixteen worshipful pages to Church, describing his "firm, clear New England vision" and his "New England mind pictorially developed." To Whistler, whom he noted as having been born in Baltimore, Tuckerman devoted only a slim paragraph that alluded to *The White Girl* as

a powerful female with red hair, with a vacant stare with soulless eyes. She is standing on a wolf-skin hearth rug . . . for what reason is unrecorded. The picture evidently means vastly more than it expresses . . . albeit expressing too much. Notwithstanding an obvious want of purpose, there is some boldness in the handling and a singularity in the glare of the colors which cannot fail to divert the eye and weary it. <sup>83</sup>

Whistler exhibited the first picture to which he gave a musical name, *Symphony in White #3*, in 1867. But not until 1872, after he had fully developed an explicit rationale for his "harmonies" and "arrangements," did he exhibit *The White Girl* as *Symphony in White #1*. By then his brother George, who purchased it in 1864, had died. Reluctant to part with the painting, Whistler finally sent it to Baltimore in 1875. There it remained in the family until 1895, when Ross Whistler Winans sold it at auction. One might also note that in 1867 Whistler literally pushed his brother-in-law Seymour Haden, scion of Lowell entrepreneurs, out the window, never to speak to him again. Whistler's later contretemps with Ruskin, mentor of the Hudson River School, may have been the ultimate outcome of his feelings as a "Baltimorean."

Because of the exhibition of Manet's *Dejeuner Sur L'Herbe*, 1863 is often cited as the year modern art began. But also in that year Whistler's *White Girl* and Church's *Icebergs* signaled a break in the history of American painting—Church crowning Ruskin's aesthetic, Whistler representing its nemesis. If Whistler like Frederic Church had been a New Englander, he probably could never have painted

*The White Girl*. It was as a Baltimorean that Whistler formulated an aesthetic consistent with Poe's, that he was able to move with ease among both French and English, pursuing an artistic life based on independence of mind and practical astuteness while remaining sympathetic to the South. Late in life Whistler stated, "I have a right to keep my reputation clear—as shall be that of a Southern gentleman."<sup>84</sup> Lowell, Massachusetts, was Whistler's birthplace; as a Baltimorean he made art history.

## NOTES

1. David C. Huntington, *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), pp. 9, 10; John Wilmerding, ed., *American Light: The Luminist Movement, 1850–1875* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1980), p. 155.
2. Joseph Pennell and Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London: William Heinemann, 1925), p. 5.
3. Gordon Fleming, *The Young Whistler 1834–1866* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), pp. 21–22.
4. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 26.
5. Several recent studies have taken note of Whistler's sudden shift away from realism. See especially Katherine Lochman, "The Thames from Its Source to the Sea: An Unpublished Portfolio by Whistler and Haden"; *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, vol. 19 of *Studies in the History of Art*, ed. Jane Sweeney Walsh (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), pp. 29–45; Elizabeth Broun, "Thoughts that began with the Gods: The Content of Whistler's Art," *Arts Magazine*, October 1987, pp. 36–43; Henry Adams, "New Books on Japonisme," *The Art Bulletin*, 55 (1983): 496–502.
6. Frederick A. Sweet, *James McNeill Whistler*, (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1968), p. 8.
7. Albert Parry, *Whistler's Father* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), p. 25; Fleming, *Whistler*, p. 25.
8. Winans's invention of the "friction wheel" for the Baltimore & Ohio's first rail cars occasioned his move to Baltimore in 1828; see Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827–1927* (2 vols.; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), 1:78, 79.
9. Phoebe Lloyd, "Anna Whistler The Venerable," *Art in America*, November 1984, p. 138; Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 4.
10. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, pp. 24–26, 29, 51–52.
11. Parry, *Whistler's Father*, p. 231; Fleming, *Young Whistler*, p. 49.
12. Parry, *Whistler's Father*, p. 231.
13. Quoted in Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (reprint ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 205–6.
14. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, pp. 62–63.
15. Lochman, "Unpublished Portfolio," p. 31.
16. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 108.
17. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, pp. 1, 4.
18. Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, pp. 108–9.
19. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, p. 103.



20. Henry Field, *The Life of David Dudley Field* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1898), p. 116.
21. Margaret Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1947), p. 95.
22. Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City 1840-1851* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 313.
23. Morgan Dix, ed. and comp., *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1883), p. 307.
24. Lillian M. C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent, 1857-1909* (2 vols.; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 1:6, 2:32.
25. See William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 28.
26. Carlyle Barton, Jr., "Ross Winans: Railroad Engineer: (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1940), p. 72, in Winans Papers, Maryland Historical Society, M916; Parry, *Whistler's Father*, p. 302; Roger J. Kennedy, *Architecture, Men, Women, and Money* (New York: Random House, 1985), pp. 381-82.
27. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, pp. 110-11.
28. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 27.
29. See Pennell Collection, Print Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Francis S. Gruber, *Richard Caton Woodville* (Washington, D.C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1967), plate no. 20.
30. See the journal of Frank Blackwell Mayer, 1844-1852, and Mayer's art journal, 1855-1899, both in John Sylvester Collection, Augusta, Georgia.
31. Kenneth Alan Hovey, "Critical Provincialism: Poe's Poetic Principle in Antebellum Context," *American Quarterly*, 39 (1987): 343, 349.
32. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, pp. 28-29.
33. Carl Bode, *Maryland, A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978), p. 110.
34. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 28.
35. John Ross Key, "Recollections of Whistler," *Century Magazine*, 64 (1884): 931-32.
36. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, p. 118; Young, Andrew McLaren, Margaret McDonald and Robin Spencer, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 2.
37. Fleming, *Young Whistler*, pp. 118-19.
38. Frank Mayer, young enough to remember the colorfully dressed Revolutionary War veterans, bewailed the introduction of the plain, black business suit.
39. Mayer and others from Baltimore entered Glèyre's atelier shortly after Whistler did.
40. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 47. Whistler later wished that he had not been so influenced by Courbet but had studied drawing with Ingres instead (see *ibid.*, p. 41).
41. Abbott, ed. "The Lady of the Portrait; Letters of Whistler's Mother," *Atlantic Monthly*, 34 (1922): 321.
42. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 62; Claude Roger-Marx, *Graphic Art of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1962), pp. 123, 174.
43. Abbott, "Letters of Whistler's Mother," pp. 322-23; Lochman, "Unpublished Portfolio," pp. 33, 44n.
44. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 75.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
46. For this iconography, see David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer*



Gallery (New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), p. 114; see also Lochman, "Unpublished Portfolio."

47. For examples of Japanese woodcuts, in which rain was a common subject, see Felix Bracquemond, *The Ducks Have Crossed* (c.1856) and Hokusai, *Woodcut of Travellers in a Rainstorm* (1817); see also Cleveland Museum of Art, *Japonisme* (London: Robert G. Sawers Publications, 1975), p. 35, and Katherine A. Lochman, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 131–32.

48. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [1861], Pennell Collection, Library of Congress.

49. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 67.

50. Young et al., *Paintings of . . . Whistler*, 2:16.

51. George William Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th of April, 1861* (Baltimore: N. Murray, 1887), pp. 33, 42.

52. Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, pp. 10–11.

53. Quoted in "Brother Against Brother," *American Heritage* 12 (April 1961): 6, 7.

54. Brown, *19th of April*, pp. 78, 87; Barton, "Ross Winans," p. 74.

55. Quoted in Barton, "Ross Winans," p. 76.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

57. Huntingdon, *Frederic Church*, pp. 53, 110.

58. Randall, *Diary of George Lucas*, 2:113.

59. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 69.

60. Boleslawmand and Marie-Louise D'Orange Mastai, *The Stars and The Stripes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 137. I am indebted to Melanie Collier, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia, for this information.

61. See the 1861 lithograph, *The First Flag of Independence Raised in the South, by the Citizens of Savannah Ga. Nov. 8th 1860*, cited in Mark E. McNeely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Garbar S. Boritt, "The Confederate Image; Prints of the Lost Cause," *Imprint*, 12 (1987): 4.

62. Brown, *19th of April*, p. 94. I am indebted to Karen A. Stuart, Librarian, Maryland Historical Society, for pointing me to this source.

63. Charles B. Clark, "Suppression and Control of Maryland, 1861–1865; A Study of Federal-State Relations During Civil Conflict," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54 (Baltimore, Maryland, 1959): 248–49.

64. Dr. Philip Ogilvie, zoologist, in a letter to author, 22 December 1986, argues Northern Wolf; art historians refer to the rug variously as a bear and wolf.

65. See James William Williams, *American Paintings from the National Gallery of Art* (Maplewood, N.J.: Hammond, 1981), p. 129, for this iconography.

66. Hovey, *Critical Provincialism*, p. 348.

67. See Gerald L. Carr, *The Icebergs* (Dallas, Texas: Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 1980), especially pp. 24, 28, and 30; Kevin J. Avery, "The Heart of the Andes Exhibited: Frederic E. Church's Window on the Equatorial World," *American Art Journal*, (No. 1 1986), pp. 52–72.

68. Carr, *Icebergs*, pp. 73, 43, 56.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

70. See Ruth Seiben-Morgan, "Samuel Putnam Avery (1822–1904)," (Ph.D.diss., Columbia University, 1942), *passim*.

71. Young et al., *Paintings of James Whistler*, p. 17.

72. Winans Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Ms. 916, boxes 1 and 2; *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: National Biographical Publishing Co., 1879), p. 365.

73. Parry, *Whistler's Father*, p. 350. According to Angus Sinclair, *Development of the Locomotive Engine; A History* (New York: Angus Sinclair, 1907), pp. 174–75, Whistler's father deserved the fame his son received: "encyclopedias have extended biographies of the son, the artist, while not a word is said about the father who organized methods and forms of railroad business that became the inheritance of the whole world. . . ."
74. David Park Curry, "Total Control: Whistler at an Exhibition," *Studies in the History of Art*, 19 (1987): 67–82; Parry, *Whistler's Father*, p. 222; Duane D. Cummins, *William Robinson Leigh* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), p. 133.
75. Broun, "Content of Whistler's Art," pp. 39ff.
76. Philadelphia Museum of Art, *From Realism to Symbolism, Whistler and His World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 40.
77. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, pp. 69–70; Broun, "Content of Whistler's Art," pp. 38–39; Denis Sutton, *James McNeill Whistler* (London: Phaidon, 1966), p. 25. Broun, Sutton, and others, including nineteenth-century critics, have doubted Whistler's claim that his paintings were devoid of content.
78. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler*, p. 74.
79. Stanley Weintaub, *Whistler, A Biography* (New York: Weybright & Talley, 1974), p. 86.
80. Hovey, "Critical Provincialism," p. 350; Young et al, *Paintings of James Whistler*, p. 18.
81. Carr, *Icebergs*, pp. 88–89, 96.
82. I am indebted to Dr. Lois Fink for bringing this to my attention.
83. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (reprint of 1867 ed., New York: James F. Carr, 1966), p. 486.
84. Fleming, *Whistler*, p. 21. Apparently Baudelaire, often cited as the source of much of Whistler's aesthetic thinking, shared Poe's "views about Mr. Emerson and the Transcendentalists," and energetically "resisted all those ideas of 'progress' which came from hell and Boston" (Charles Baudelaire, *Art in Paris 1845–1862*, Jonathan Mayne, ed. and trans. [reprint ed., Oxford: Phaidon, 1965], p. 126n).

# The First Integration of the University of Maryland School of Law

DAVID SKILLEN BOGEN

The 1935 court order requiring the University of Maryland School of Law to admit Donald Gaines Murray was the first success of the NAACP's campaign to end segregation in the public schools, but it was not the first time the law school had been integrated.<sup>1</sup> Nearly half a century earlier, in 1889, two black students had graduated from the school. Two other black students attended during the next academic year, but the law school then excluded them and all other blacks until Murray reopened the doors. The story of that first, brief integration of the university law school began with the struggle of blacks to be admitted to the bar and ended with the tragedy of virulent racial prejudice.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century each court in Maryland controlled the admission of lawyers to practice before it. None admitted blacks.<sup>2</sup> In 1832 a state statute setting some uniform standards for bar admission limited eligibility to free, white males. This racial restriction may have been prompted by Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion in neighboring Virginia, an event that led the 1831–1832 session of the assembly to enact other laws designed to control both the slave and the free black populations.<sup>3</sup> The codification of racial discrimination made it more difficult to eliminate in later years when white society was more willing to accept the existence of black lawyers.

The state prohibition against black attorneys did not end with ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1877 the Court of Appeals held that the amendment did not apply to admission to the bar. The following year an attempt to make black males eligible to practice law failed in the legislature. In 1884 the House of Delegates passed a measure striking the racial restriction, but it failed in the senate despite support for it expressed in newspaper editorials.<sup>4</sup> A Maryland court changed the law in 1885. Reasoning from an earlier decision of the United States Supreme Court, the Baltimore Supreme Bench held that excluding blacks from the practice of law was unconstitutional. On 10 October 1885 Everett Waring became the first black man admitted to legal practice in a state court in Maryland.<sup>5</sup>

Maryland blacks now had a reason to study law. "Reading" law in a lawyer's office was one way to qualify for practice, but few white lawyers would accept blacks. Only recently admitted to the Maryland bar themselves, black lawyers lacked the breadth of experience desirable in a mentor.<sup>6</sup> Law school offered a better alternative, and in 1887 two young black men applied to the University of Mary-

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land. Harry Sythe Cummings, a Baltimore native and an 1886 graduate of Lincoln University, had spent a year reading law in the offices of a black attorney, Joseph Seldon Davis. Charles W. Johnson had just graduated from Lincoln.<sup>7</sup>

The law school had been founded in 1823 as a branch of the University of Maryland by David Hoffman, a celebrated innovator in legal education. The state took over the university in 1826, but, after disagreements with Hoffman, discontinued law school classes in 1833. When the law school reopened in 1870, the university was back in private hands. Until 1885 the racial prohibition on the practice of law made attendance by blacks unthinkable. Consisting of four full professors and four nonteaching attorneys, the Faculty of Law governed the law school. The Board of Instruction, which consisted of the four full professors and three assistant professors, did the teaching.<sup>8</sup>

George William Brown, a nonteaching faculty member, took a strong stand in favor of admitting Cummings and Johnson, and Severn Teackle Wallis, university provost, joined him. Although both men had been interned during the Civil War for fear that they would not support the North, they supported equality in the opportunity to practice law. Brown had been the chief judge of the Circuit Court of Baltimore City when in 1885 the suit for the admission of black attorneys to the bar was filed. Although he initially thought the issue had been settled by the prior Court of Appeals decision, he said, "It is a great injustice that no colored man can be admitted to the practice of the law. There is a large colored population in our State, and they ought to be allowed to enter any lawful occupation for which they may be fitted."<sup>9</sup> Wallis, the foremost Maryland lawyer of his time, was one leader of a reform movement to rid city and state politics of fraud and corruption. The movement sought to overthrow the machine Democrats by uniting independent Democrats and a Republican party heavily supported by blacks.<sup>10</sup>

Other nonteaching faculty members probably supported Brown and Wallis. George Dobbin and John H. B. Latrobe were the surviving members of the Faculty of Law from David Hoffman's era. When the law school had been revived, Dobbin had become the first dean. Latrobe had sought to preserve the Union although three of his sons had fought for the Confederacy. Another son, Ferdinand, was Baltimore mayor in 1885 and publicly favored the admission of blacks to the bar. The fourth nonteaching faculty member was Bernard Carter. A relative of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, Carter had sympathized with the South in the Civil War. During the suit to admit blacks to the bar, a reporter had asked Carter, then city solicitor, for his opinion. Carter replied that "he had not thought about the policy of the matter at all, but that personally he saw no objection whatever in admitting colored men to practice at the bar."<sup>11</sup>

The majority of the four teaching faculty members may have opposed the admission of black students. The dean of the law school, John Prentiss Poe, was later active in efforts to disenfranchise blacks. Two professors, Richard M. Venable and Thomas W. Hall, had been majors in the Confederate army.<sup>12</sup> Only Judge Charles E. Phelps had fought for the Union, and he was the only full professor on record in favor of black rights. In litigation over the admission of blacks to the bar, Phelps had characterized the racial barrier as a "relic of barbarism."<sup>13</sup>

With Wallis and Brown in the lead and Phelps, Carter, Latrobe, and Dobbins as likely supporters, the law school admitted Cummings and Johnson in 1887.

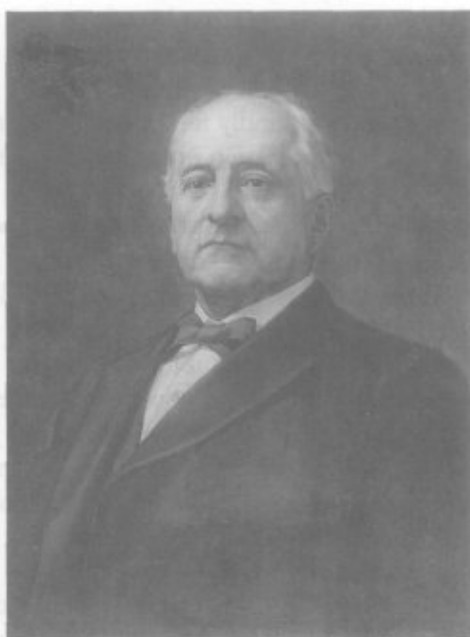


FIGURE 1. John Prentiss Poe, dean of the Maryland School of Law, 1870–1909. This portrait, oil on canvas, was a gift of the class of 1911. (University of Maryland School of Law. Photo: Rick Lippenholz.)

Some of the faculty disliked the change, but they accepted it. If Poe, Hall, and Venable had been determined to exclude blacks from the school, they might have succeeded. After all, Poe was the dean and Venable the most senior faculty member. Blacks in the classroom hardly threatened their status, for whites often taught Negro students in the segregated schools of Maryland. Indeed, the Baltimore City Council fought bitterly between 1885 and 1888 over whether to allow black teachers to teach in black schools. A strict party vote in 1887 rejected an effort to permit Negro teachers in black secondary schools, but in 1888, an ordinance allowing it was passed. The new ordinance met earlier objections by providing that white and black teachers would never be employed in the same school.<sup>14</sup>

Progress in race relations was mixed during this era: Baltimore was partially integrated and partially segregated. Many restaurants excluded blacks, and theaters restricted their seating. Even so, at least one white church had a Negro member, and some blacks performed in largely white troupes of entertainers. Court decisions had compelled the integration of municipal transit in 1871, and it remained integrated in 1887.<sup>15</sup> In this context the faculty may have been satisfied that more students at a proprietary school meant more fees. The faculty seems to have felt that sitting for an hour or two listening to a lecture in a classroom more closely resembled riding in a train than eating or playgoing.

Cummings and Johnson completed the three-year course in only two years, graduating in the spring of 1889. Johnson finished third and Cummings tenth in a class of thirty-three. White students at first had grumbled about their black classmates but eventually accepted them. At a class meeting before graduation Charles Johnson reportedly thanked whites for their kindness; he and Cummings, he said,

"had been treated with the utmost respect and made to feel that they were gentlemen associating with gentlemen." A leading contemporary student of race relations noted that "the graduating students themselves, by the good judgment and tact of the two colored ones, and the kindly feeling of a majority of the white ones, in return, prevented any color discrimination in seating the guests at the graduation exercises."<sup>16</sup>

Cummings and Johnson enjoyed success that appeared to bode well both for race relations and the law school. The black community feted the pair at a testimonial dinner at the Madison Street Presbyterian Church. Joseph Seldon Davis presided, Everett Waring delivered a speech, and the new graduates received law books. Afterward Cummings and Johnson plunged into work. Judge Phelps asked one of them to assist him in preparing his book on equity jurisprudence. But there were more pressing concerns: In November 1889 Cummings and Johnson successfully represented a black man accused of assaulting a white girl in Baltimore County. That fall two more black students enrolled at the law school—John L. Dozier, another product of Lincoln, and William Ashbie Hawkins, who had graduated from Centenary Bible Institute (later Morgan College).<sup>17</sup>

Yet the racial climate was turning cold. One reason was the political struggle between regular Democrats and the reform coalition. Reformers had succeeded in blocking the machine Democrats' legislative program. In response Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, state Democratic boss, in the fall of 1889 launched a campaign to weaken the racially mixed, independent-Democrat/Republican coalition by invoking the specter of black rule. Gorman said, "We have determined that this government was made by white men and shall be ruled by white men as long as the republic lasts."<sup>18</sup> Dean Poe was growing closer to Senator Gorman. Poe had always been a Democrat and since 1885 had openly pledged his support to Gorman's cause.<sup>19</sup> In view of the racial tone of the 1889 campaign, Dozier and Hawkins must have found life at the law school particularly difficult.

Discontent with integration at the University of Maryland now flared into open attack. The medical school faculty voted to deny admission to blacks. White students from the law, medical, and dental schools petitioned the faculty against the admission of black students to the law school. During the winter of 1889–1890 nearly all of ninety-nine enrolled law students signed a petition protesting black admissions. The petitioners kept up pressure to dismiss Hawkins and Dozier through the academic year.<sup>20</sup> In the summer of 1890 the issue went to the university regents, a group composed of the faculties of law, medicine, and dentistry, who held several meetings on it.

Meantime, fueling the controversy, Harry Sythe Cummings conducted a strong campaign for a city council seat in Baltimore's Eleventh Ward. It was probably apparent early in the year that his chances of success were high, and he did indeed win the seat in the November election.<sup>21</sup> The faculty's public statements did not mention this rise of a black lawyer to modest political power, but it may have affected the attitudes of the white students who demanded that blacks be excluded from the law school. The opening of Baltimore University Law School in the fall of 1890 gave segregationists new leverage.<sup>22</sup> Students unhappy at attending school with blacks could now go elsewhere. Too, old age and death weakened the regents'



FIGURE 2. Harry Sythe Cummings, 1889 graduate of the Maryland School of Law. Undated photo. (Courtesy of his daughter, Louise Dorcas.)

ability to resist student pressure. Dobbin and Latrobe were in their eighties, and George William Brown had died.

With the voice of the strongest supporter of integration stilled, the university surrendered to student agitation and the fear of revenue losses. In September 1890, reported Dean Poe, the regents "finally resolved that it would be unwise to endanger the school or jeopardize its interests in any way by any longer allowing colored students to attend the school in the face of such manifest opposition." Claiming that the presence of Hawkins and Dozier had caused a number of students to leave the school and others to refuse to enter, the regents cited the prospect of continued enrollment losses as the chief consideration in their decision to expel the two black students. In fact, the size of the school had changed only slightly between 1887 and 1890; there were 101 students enrolled when Cummings and Johnson matriculated and 99 when Hawkins and Dozier enrolled.<sup>23</sup> If expulsion of the 2 black students did not result in a significant increase in student numbers, segregation may have prevented more white students from leaving to attend the new rival.

In any case, Poe also attempted to justify exclusion of black students "in view of their exceedingly low record." The *Baltimore Herald* responded by reporting the words of a prominent jurist connected with the school. "We treat a colored student as we do a white one," he said, "and if he has no aptitude for the law we simply tell him we cannot take his money, as he will receive, of course, no equivalent for it." Hawkins himself wrote a protesting letter to the same paper. "The mere statement itself is enough to provoke an incredulous smile on the face of every man in Baltimore," he declared of the suggestion that his expulsion was based on record



and not on race. "It is bad enough to have the University of Maryland take our money, start us on our course, and then suddenly stop us for no other reason than that the white students do not desire to mingle with us, but to have one of the officers misrepresent us in this way is provoking in the extreme." Hawkins noted that although he had done poorly in Property, he had met the university requirements for retention and done so at a level higher than some white students who were continuing. Even Dean Poe had called his record a fine one. "The real and the only question underlying this difficulty is my race and not my intellectual fitness for the study of law," Hawkins wrote. "If it were not for my color there would be no trouble. . . . I do not care for my exclusion from the university. I can find some other place to pursue my studies, but the faculty does me an injustice and shows the weakness of its own cause when it charges that my exclusion is for any other cause than my color."<sup>24</sup>

Hawkins and Dozier faced difficulties in finding another place to pursue their studies. They sought to persuade Hawkins's alma mater, Morgan College, to open a law school. Facing financial problems, Morgan set up a committee to see if one could be established "without additional expense to the College." Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, one of the original trustees of Morgan, threw cold water on Hawkins and Dozier's hopes for obtaining a legal education in Maryland. He wrote Morgan College President F. J. Wagner, "I do not think a law school at Morgan College would be a success. Volunteer lecturers of any ability on law could not be obtained; and, as I understand you, the college will have to rely wholly upon the efforts of unpaid teachers."<sup>25</sup>

Judge Bond's letter exemplified "liberal" thought. A staunch Republican federal judge after the Civil War, he had ruled in favor of the integration of city transit. But Judge Bond was skeptical of professional education for blacks. "I do not think, as yet, the colored youth of our state have the education or the habit of close mental application to fit them for the study of law," he wrote. Bond thought he was being practical in urging manual labor instead of law: "There are a few who have been educated in more liberal states who have good positions at the bar, but the colored people do not support them, and they can hardly be called successful practitioners."<sup>26</sup>

Publication of Judge Bond's letter sparked more controversy than had the closing of the Maryland Law School to blacks. Letters from black lawyers poured in to attack his comments. Everett J. Waring contended that the black community did indeed support black lawyers, and he noted the outstanding record of Cummings and Johnson at the law school. Waring also pointed out that it was easier for a black to train for the professions than to get into trade school or a trade association to apprentice. Another recently admitted black lawyer, Robert A. McGuinn, agreed with Bond that blacks did not support their legal representatives as they ought, but he contended that five years was not a sufficient time to test whether attitudes would change. Of Judge Bond's advice to learn a trade, McGuinn wrote, "It is like telling a man to learn to swim on dry land." Harry Cummings also criticized the judge. He noted that black lawyers had been at least as successful in their first five years of practice as their white counterparts.<sup>27</sup>

Although Judge Bond saw vocational training as the first priority for black education, he did not support the University of Maryland's policy. He contended





FIGURE 3. This circa-1900 photograph of Harry Sythe Cummings (front row center) and W. Ashbie Hawkins (second row center), among other black lawyers and ministers working for civil rights, was taken in front of the home of Reverend Harvey Johnson (last row center). Others in the group include attorneys David Dickson (front row right) and Warner T. McGuinn (fourth row, second from right), and the Reverend William Alexander (second row left). (Suzanne Ellery Greene, *Baltimore: An Illustrated History* [Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1980], p. 167.)

that racial exclusion violated the university charter and argued against a law school at Morgan on the grounds that it would reduce the pressure on Maryland to conform to its obligations. Bond did “not propose to supplement by charity that which belongs to every citizen by right.” (Since the charter made no reference to race, and the courts were not likely to find a commitment to race-neutral practices in its general language,<sup>28</sup> no one attempted to sue the university on Bond’s theory.)

Bond ended his letter by suggesting the publication of the names of the faculty and students who voted against the black students. This advice was spitting into the wind. No strong constituency for racial integration existed in the white community. Indeed, race prejudice was becoming a political asset in the state. Only a few months later, William Cabell Bruce published a pamphlet called “The Negro Problem” which launched a political career that ended in the United States Senate.<sup>29</sup>

The excluded black students finished their legal education at Howard University Law School and became members of the Baltimore bar. In what must have been sweet revenge, W. Ashbie Hawkins subsequently led a successful court fight to overturn a series of residential segregation laws in Baltimore City.<sup>30</sup> The rising tide

of anti-black feeling, however, left private institutions strictly segregated. The faint hope that the law school's integration had raised in 1887 lay dashed. The law school did not come under state control until 1920, by which time the whites-only admissions policy had grown firmly entrenched. Only a courageous and unprecedented lawsuit could end it.

## NOTES

1. The decision of Judge Eugene O'Dunne of the Baltimore Supreme Bench ordering the law school to admit Murray was affirmed by the Maryland Court of Appeals in *University v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478 (1936). See Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 186–94.

2. See note, "Attorney General v. Waldron—The Maryland Judiciary's Expansive Power to Regulate the Bar Under the Separation of Powers Article; Intermediate Scrutiny Under Maryland's New Equal Protection 'Clause,'" *Maryland Law Review*, 41 (1982): 410. See also Anton-Hermann Chroust, *The Rise of the Legal Profession in America* (2 vols.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 1:239–62. No black was admitted to practice law in any state until 1844, when Macon Allen was admitted to practice in Maine (see Walter J. Leonard, *Black Lawyers* [Boston: Senna & Shih, 1977], p. 49).

3. *Laws of Maryland*, 1831, chap. 268, sec. 2; Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1889), pp. 236–38. Colonization of blacks in Africa under the auspices of the Maryland Colonization Society became state policy (*Laws of Maryland*, 1831, chaps. 281, 314). The Maryland General Assembly strengthened restrictions on the immigration of free blacks and the importation of slaves, restricted black ownership of firearms, limited religious meetings, and in general reenacted or extended a host of restrictions on blacks (*ibid.*, chap. 323).

4. In *the Matter of Charles Taylor*, 48 Md. 28 (1877), reasoned that the practice of law was not a "privilege or immunity of citizens of the United States" on the basis of the Slaughterhouse Cases, 83 U.S. [16 Wall.] 36 (1873) and *Bradwell v. Illinois*, 83 U.S. [16 Wall.] 130 (1873). Taylor did not rely on the equal protection clause in his argument, and the court did not mention it. See also Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870–1912* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 63; Jeffrey R. Brackett, *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1890), pp. 72–76; and, for editorial support of the change, *Baltimore Sun*, 7 February and 12 March 1884.

5. In *the Matter of Charles S. Wilson*, Baltimore Supreme Bench, 19 March 1885. The slip opinion was reprinted in the *Sun*, 20 March 1885. See David Bogen, "The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment: Reflections from the Admission of Maryland's First Black Attorneys," *Maryland Law Review*, 44 (1986): 939–1046. On 10 October 1885 Everett J. Waring was admitted to practice before the Baltimore Supreme Bench on motion of Assistant States Attorney Edgar H. Gans. See A. Briscoe Koger, *The Negro Lawyer in Maryland* (Baltimore: A. B. Koger, 1948), p. 5; Baltimore City Superior Court Test Book, no. 3, 1880–1895, p. 205.

6. Waring graduated from Howard in 1885. Joseph Seldon Davis, another recent Howard Law School graduate, was admitted to practice on 1 March 1886 (Baltimore City Superior Court Test Book, no. 3, 1880–1895, p. 205).

7. *Sun*, 6 June 1904; *The Law School of the University of Maryland Catalogue* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, 1888), p. 6.

8. See George H. Callcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1966), pp. 34–38, 47–54, 68–69.

9. *Sun*, 9 February 1885. "When an effort was made at one time . . . to refuse colored law students the privileges of the institution, he [Brown], together with his colleague, S. Teackle Wallis, took a very pronounced stand against any such narrow policy of exclusion" (Conway Sams, *Bench and Bar of Maryland: A History, 1634 to 1901* [Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1901], p. 499).

10. William Cabell Bruce, *Recollections* (Baltimore: King Bros., 1936), pp. 134–54.

11. *Sun*, 10 February 1885. Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807–1907: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics, with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of its Founders, Benefactors, Regents, Faculty and Alumni* (2 vols.; New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1907), 1:348–49. Dobbin graduated from the law school in 1830, when David Hoffman was its only teacher, and was elected a judge of the Supreme Bench in Baltimore in 1867. When in 1879 he passed the age limit of seventy, the General Assembly passed a special act to permit him to remain on the bench. He served as dean of the law school in its first year of revival, before yielding place to Poe (*ibid.*, 2:7–8). Latrobe opposed slavery but doubted the feasibility of racial coexistence. His great passion was the project to colonize blacks in Africa. He drafted the constitution and ordinances for the government of Maryland in Liberia, served for many years as the president of the Maryland Colonization Society, and in 1853 became the president of the American Colonization Society. See John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803–1891* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Co., 1917). On Carter, see Bruce, *Recollections*, pp. 158–64; W. Calvin Chestnut, *A Federal Judge Sums Up* (Baltimore: n.p., 1947), pp. 59–60; and Cordell, *University of Maryland*, 1:116–17.

12. Although Poe dropped racial classifications respecting bastardy and admission to the bar from Maryland laws when in 1888 he codified them at the assembly's request, in 1905 he wrote an unsuccessful constitutional amendment that would have prevented blacks from voting (Callcott, *Negro in Politics*, pp. 115–25). Born in Virginia, Venable served in the Army of Northern Virginia, rising to the rank of major of artillery and engineers. After the war he taught at Washington and Lee in the department of mathematics, receiving his LL.B. from that institution in 1868. He moved to Baltimore in 1869 and the following year became a professor in the law school, where he served for thirty-two years. Venable was also the senior partner of Venable, Baetjer & Howard and was active in numerous civic endeavors, particularly the development of the city's parks (Cordell, *University of Maryland*, 1:363–64). During the Civil War Hall wrote newspaper articles criticizing the Lincoln administration, for which he was imprisoned for one year. After his release (no legal grounds for detention were shown), he joined the Confederate army and eventually rose to the rank of major. When the test oath was removed in 1867, Hall returned to Maryland, dividing his time between journalism and the law. For twelve years (1870–1882) he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Sun*. He also served as city solicitor from 1878 to 1883. Hall taught international and constitutional law (Cordell, *University of Maryland*, 2:12–14).

13. *Sun*, 10 February 1885. Phelps, a brigadier general who had been seriously wounded in battle, opposed Reconstruction in Congress and voted against the Fifteenth Amendment (*Proceedings of the Memorial Meeting of the Bench and Bar of Baltimore City in Memory of Charles Edward Phelps, Late Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. January 11, 1909*).

14. Brackett, *Notes*, pp. 77, 90.

15. See *ibid.*, p. 60, where Brackett wrote: "Some little complaint has been made by respectable colored men against the discrimination between white and colored citizens in the city park, in that lessees of the restaurant will serve the latter only at a stand without the restaurants. In such matters as these, however, the complaint of the colored people usually runs against a high wall, of strong and widely spread public sentiment against any change." See also, *ibid.*, pp. 62–64, and Meredith Janvier, *Baltimore in the Eighties and Nineties* (Baltimore: H. G. Roebuck & Son, 1933), pp. 249, 276.

16. *New York Times*, 10 June 1889; Brackett, *Notes*, p. 77. See also *Sun*, 1 June 1889.

17. *Sun*, 7 June 1889; *New York Times*, 10 June 1889; Brackett, *Notes*, p. 77. Phelps acknowledged the help of neither Cummings nor Johnson; perhaps legal duties prevented the black student from being of assistance after Phelps selected him. For the 1889 black admittees, see *The Law School of the University of Maryland Catalogue* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, 1890), p. 6.

18. *Sun*, 22 October 1889. See also Callcott, *Negro in Politics*, p. 55; William George Paul, "The Shadow of Equality: The Negro in Baltimore, 1864–1911" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1972), p. 183; *Sun*, 14, 17, 26, 29, and 30 October and 4 November 1889.

19. John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), p. 127.

20. "The [Medical School] Dean then presented the application of two negro students for admission to the University. After general discussion it was: —Moved: —(Chew) That the Dean be instructed to say in answer to the applications, that the Faculty deem it inexpedient to admit colored students to the medical class. Carried." Minutes of the Faculty of Physic, 8 October 1889. These minutes are in manuscript, preserved in the archives at the Health Sciences Library of the University of Maryland at Baltimore. See also *Baltimore American*, 15 September 1890, and *New York Times*, 15 September 1890.

21. Suzanne Ellery Greene, "Black Republicans on the Baltimore City Council, 1890–1931," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 74 (1979): 205.

22. *Baltimore Morning Herald*, 9 August 1890.

23. *Baltimore American*, 15 September 1890. See also *New York Times*, 15 September 1890; *Maryland Law School Catalogue*, 1888; and *Maryland Law School Catalogue*, 1890.

24. *Baltimore American*, 15 September 1890; *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, 14 September 1890; *Baltimore Morning Herald*, 15 September 1890. See also *Baltimore American*, 17 September 1890.

25. Edward N. Wilson, *The History of Morgan State College* (New York: Vantage Press, 1975), pp. 57–58; *Baltimore American*, 16 December 1890.

26. *Baltimore American*, 16 December 1890. On integrating streetcars, see *Field v. Baltimore City Passenger Railway*, 9 F. Cas. 11 (D.C. Md. 1871) (no. 4763). Judges Giles and Bond sat jointly. See also *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 13 November 1871. As a Radical Republican, Bond had been the only state judge likely to issue writs of habeas corpus to protect freedmen from servitude under illegal indentures (Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985], p. 151; Richard Paul Fuke, "Hugh Lennox Bond and Radical Republican Ideology," *Journal of Southern History*, 45 [1979]: 569–86).

27. *Baltimore American*, 17 December 1890.

28. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1890. In *Clark v. Maryland Institute*, 87 Md. 643 (1898), the Maryland Court of Appeals held that the institute was not bound by its contract with the city to admit black students nominated by city council members.

29. *Baltimore American*, 16 December 1890; William Cabell Bruce, *The Negro Problem* (Baltimore: Murphy, 1891).

30. Garrett Power, "Apartheid Baltimore Style: The Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910–1913," *Maryland Law Review*, 42 (1983): 289–328. See also W. Ashbie Hawkins, "A Year of Segregation in Baltimore," *Crisis*, 3 (1911): 17; *State v. Gurry*, 3 Balt. City Ct. 262 (1913), *aff'd* 121 Md. 534 (1913); and *Jackson v. State*, 132 Md. 311 (1918). The *Jackson* decision was held in the Maryland Court of Appeals until after the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917), a case in which Hawkins filed an *amicus* brief.

## Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

### Inventive, Imaginative, and Incorrigible: The Winans Family and the Building of the First Russian Railroad

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

In an age when Russia fought wars with Persia and Turkey and put down revolt in Poland, military necessity if nothing else convinced Czar Nicholas I of the potential value of railroads. A system of railroads would enable him within a few days to concentrate his armies on any one of Russia's vast frontiers. In about 1837 Nicholas slapped a ruler across a map and ordered a railroad built between his capital, St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), and Moscow, a distance of 420 miles. The autocratic sovereign wished it to run as straight as an arrow, regardless of how many lakes, bogs, hills, or other obstacles lay in its path.<sup>1</sup>

A few years before, in 1828, Ross Winans—a thirty-two-year-old horse dealer born on a New Jersey farm—arrived in Baltimore, where he hoped to sell horses to the newly formed Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The railroad used horse-drawn cars running on tracks. Winans had a mechanical bent; noticing the difficulty horses had in pulling wagon-like cars with wheels turning on an axle, he made a “rail wagon” whose wheels and axle moved in one piece—the ends of the axle moving within bearings. This “friction wheel” enabled the cars to be pulled with comparative ease and established railroad-wheel design for a century.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Major George Washington Whistler, father of artist James A. McNeill Whistler, had gained recognition as a railroad builder. An 1819 West Point graduate in civil engineering, Whistler helped survey the route for the projected B&O. In 1828 he was a member of a commission the company sent to study the English railroad system. Five years later Whistler resigned from the army and devoted himself to railroad building.<sup>3</sup> Winans also served on the four-member study commission. Upon his return, he became an engineer for the B&O and helped Peter Cooper build the first American-built steam engine used on a chartered railroad. Next he assisted Phineas Davis on the *York*, which replaced horses on the B&O. Winans eventually took charge of the firm's busy Mount Clare shop, where he worked to improve railroad machinery.

In 1839 Czar Nicholas dispatched two of his subjects to the United States to inspect American railroads. The engineers traveled extensively, and after thorough investigation they recommended that Major Whistler should be engaged to build the Russian road and that the Philadelphia firm of Joseph Harrison and Andrew

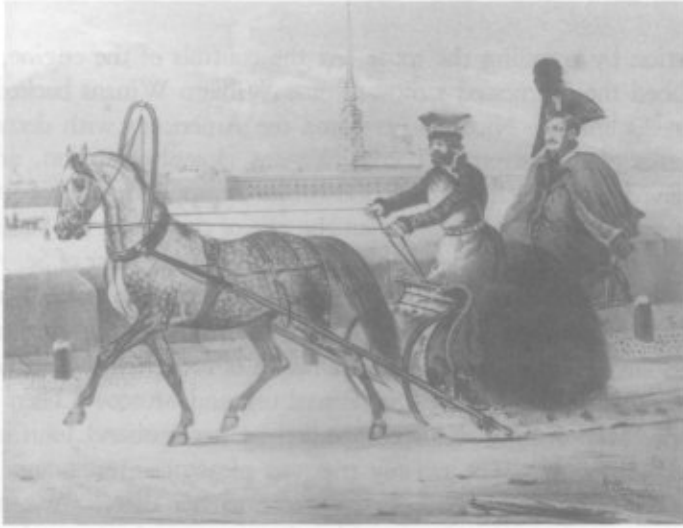


FIGURE 1. Etching of Czar Nicholas I of Russia (1796–1855). In an attempt to demonstrate that he was merely servant—rather than autocrat—of the Russian empire, Nicholas often would race through St. Petersburg dressed in simple uniform and riding in a plain conveyance. (From the author's collection.)

Eastwick should be contracted to manufacture rolling stock. Major Whistler accepted the czar's offer and named Winans to collaborate with Harrison and Eastwick. Whistler had tested Winans's machines and liked them. But Winans, only four years Whistler's senior, decided he was too old for adventures abroad. Instead he sent his two sons, Thomas DeKay Winans and William Louis Winans. Both men were in their early twenties and had been active in their father's business. Harrison and Eastwick closed their Philadelphia shop in 1844 and moved part of their machinery to Alexandroffsky, four miles from St. Petersburg. There the Winans brothers joined them, and the four energetic partners began work. Their five-year, \$5,000,000 contract included the building of 200 locomotives and 7,000 cars and was so lucrative that the partners could afford comfortable, even luxurious, living quarters. Noted for their lavish entertaining, the Americans met their renewed contract ahead of time.

Major Whistler fared less well. Although he displayed great ability and energy, corruption and bribery were rife in the czar's empire, and every contractor stole as much as possible of the funds passing through his hands. The poor serfs, herded like beasts and set to digging for the construction of the railroad embankment, were in large part robbed of their meager wages. They lived under miserable conditions and died from malnutrition, fever, and dysentery. Bitterly cold winters meant that construction was possible only from June to December. Outlandish restrictions hampered the building of bridges and stations, and during 1848—when revolution spread over Europe—the czar diverted funds from the railroad to his army, bringing the work almost to a standstill. Toward the end of that year Whistler suffered a violent attack of Asiatic cholera. Depressed by many setbacks, he failed to rally and died in 1849.

The Moscow-to-St. Petersburg railroad finally opened on 1 November 1851, when Czar Nicholas marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of his coronation and the

line's completion by traveling the route. At the controls of the engine, which the populace dubbed the "harnessed samovar," was William Winans backed up by his best engineer. Delighted, Nicholas presented the Americans with decorations and expensive marks of his esteem. Thomas Winans, Joseph Harrison, and Andrew Eastwick received rings, each worth 6,000 rubles (or approximately \$3,000). William Winans stayed in Russia longer than the rest of the party; his Stanislaus Cross conferred nobility. Major Whistler earlier had received the Order of St. Anne of the second degree. Nicholas had less than four years in which to enjoy his wonderful new railroad. The czar died 2 March 1855, in the midst of the Crimean War.

Three years later Frances Beall Knight, a native of Frederick, Maryland, recorded her impressions of the trip between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Then on a grand tour of Europe, Mrs. Knight was accompanied by her husband John and twenty-year-old daughter Fanny. "The railway trip was pleasant—restaurants of the first order every 2½ miles all the way," she wrote in her diary. "We had a most accommodating attendant who always told us how many minutes we had to stop at each place."<sup>4</sup>

Only two trains a day, one leaving St. Petersburg and the other Moscow, carried passengers on the trip, which required some eighteen hours as opposed to several days by other modes of transportation. The large, third-class cars had no roofs, and travelers, seated on hard benches, often had their clothing and baggage ignited by sparks from the engine. Second-class cars, roofed and with more comfortable seats, accommodated as many as fifty persons.

While few passengers traveled first class, the Knights, being spoiled Americans, engaged an entire carriage. "It was like sitting in one's own little cabin and looking out upon the scenery," Mrs. Knight wrote. The attendant, dressed in military-

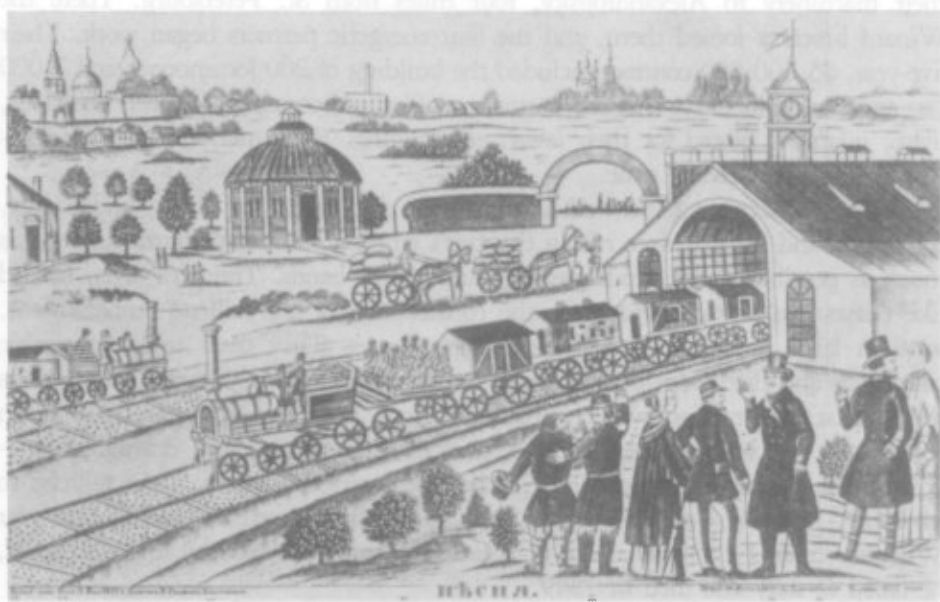


FIGURE 2. Illustration for an 1857 Moscow broadside commemorating the opening of the Russian railroad. (Albert Parry, *Whistler's Father* [Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939], opposite title page.)



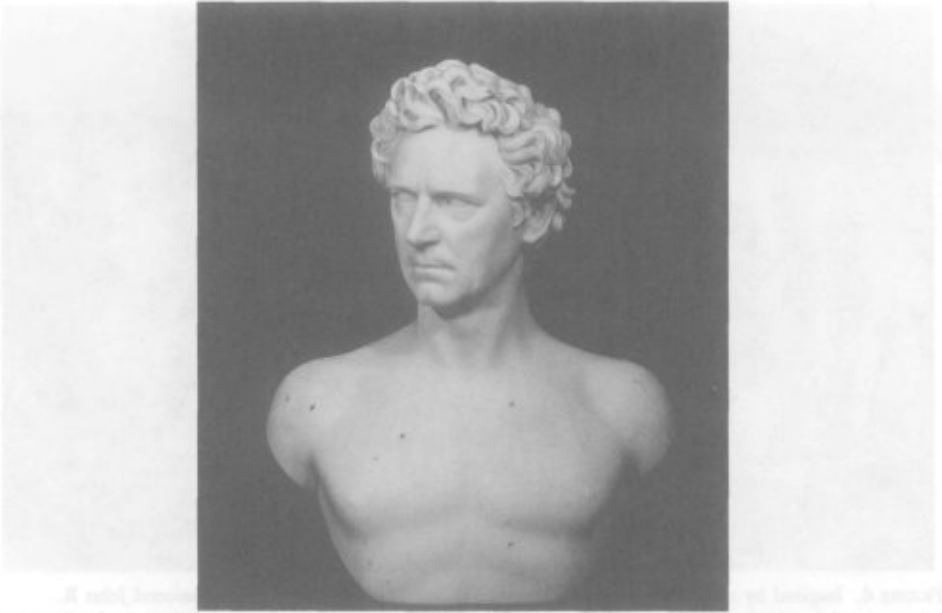


FIGURE 3. Plaster bust of Thomas DeKay Winans (1820–1878) executed in Rome in 1861 by Chauncey B. Ives (1810–1894). (Gift of Mrs. Reginald Winans Hutton and Mrs. Celeste Winans Hutton, Museum, Maryland Historical Society.)

looking garb and stationed behind their car, thumped loudly for the Knights to look out when there was something worth viewing. “We saw three splendid iron bridges—all American built,” Mrs. Knight recalled with pride. In addition to the iron bridges, William Winans had designed and built the Nicholefsky stone bridge across the Neva River at St. Petersburg, the first permanent bridge erected there.

Young Fanny Knight also kept a diary. “We had a delightful carriage with seats and benches, or sofas, to sleep on, for 100 rubles—\$81.00,” she recorded on 12 July 1858. When the train stopped at 2:30 P.M., the Knights descended and purchased their lunch at one of the stations. Dinner was at 5 o’clock and tea at 10:30 P.M. “Slept quite well on the sofas until 3 A.M. when we got a little tea with the aid of a Russian gentleman who kindly assisted us with his language,” Fanny wrote. It was remarkable that the Knights slept as well as they did in the bufferless cars which, when they stopped, rammed into each other with such force as to throw passengers from their seats. “Safe arrival in Moscow at eight in the morning,” Mrs. Knight noted thankfully on 13 July.

Thomas Winans had become wealthy from his Russian labors; his personal worth was estimated at \$2,000,000. Leaving his brother William to look after his interests in future railroad contracts, Thomas departed for home, accompanied by his wife, Celeste Revillon, of French and Italian descent, whom he had married in Russia. Settled in Baltimore, Thomas built Alexandroffsky, a palatial gray stone mansion on a tract bounded by Baltimore, Calender, and Hollins streets and Fremont Avenue. The land was a portion of Fayetteville, the former country estate of James McHenry, secretary of war during the administrations of Washington and Adams. Winans’s furnishings were magnificently lush, and the home was the first



FIGURE 4. Inspired by the country estates of Russia, Thomas DeKay Winans commissioned John R. Niernsee and J. Crawford Neilson to design Alexandroffsky. Built in 1853, the west-Baltimore dwelling was razed in the 1920s. (Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.)

in Baltimore to have a central heating plant. Two iron lions, cast in the locomotive manufacturing shop at Alexandroffsky, guarded the front doors. Patterned on the summer palaces of Russian nobility, the mansion was surrounded by a maze of trees, shrubbery, fountains, and statuary. When the nudity of the classical Greek and Roman replicas shocked some proper Baltimoreans, Winans built a high brick wall around the grounds, investing the mansion with an aura of mystery and seclusion. (In 1925 Alexandroffsky was sold to a syndicate and torn down. Today the iron lions are at the Baltimore Zoo.)

Heated arguments over more recent locomotive designs caused old Ross Winans to quit railroading in the late 1850s and embark on a new venture, an invention of his son Thomas—a steamboat resembling modern submarines. “We give herewith a correct picture of the famous Winans steamer, now building near the Ferry Bay, at Baltimore, by the Messrs. Winans of that city,” stated *Harper’s Weekly* in the fall of 1858. “For the benefit of those of our readers who have not heard of this vessel, we will observe that, if successful, she will inaugurate a new era in naval architecture.” The steamer was like nothing then afloat, having no keel, no masts, no rigging, and no deck. “In shape she resembles nothing so much as a huge cigar,” the article explained. “Round the middle of the cigar runs a round ring, attached to which are flanges set at the correct angle to strike the water and propel the vessel.”<sup>5</sup> Four engines powered the strange craft, which Frank Leslie’s *Illustrated News* pictured at the same time. Despite several successful runs and being a century ahead of its time, the vessel was a failure.

In about 1860 Thomas Winans built a summer residence, Crimea, on an estate of nearly one thousand acres in the rolling hills west of Baltimore. A Southern sympathizer when the Civil War began, Winans feared that Union troops entering

Baltimore from the west would sack his home. Being a man of inventive genius and much imagination, he hit upon the idea of building a dummy fort to scare off the federals. Black-nosed wooden cannon went up behind real ramparts. As it turned out, Northern forces were not in the least awed by the battlements; one morning a column took possession of the estate and denuded the Winans orchard of wood. Crimea, the mansion, was spared.<sup>6</sup> (Today the entrance to Crimea, the public park at Windsor Mill Road and Tucker Lane, is still guarded by two Russian eagles, cast in iron and brought home when Thomas returned from abroad).

The elder Winans, another Confederate sympathizer, had been busy repairing and making balls for a steam cannon to be used against the North. The centrifugal steam gun, originally the concept of Charles S. Dickinson of Cleveland, Ohio, was designed to hurl 200 balls per minute and mow down regiments "like grass." Ross Winans dismantled the unproven weapon, disguised it as machinery, and had it hauled by a team of horses to Ellicott's Mills. Union troops captured it before it reached Confederate lines but were unable to operate it because Winans had removed the trigger during transit. Winans committed other disloyal acts. After the 19 April 1861 skirmish between Baltimoreans and Massachusetts troops, he decided to arm the citizenry. In his shops he turned out several thousand iron pikes that he stored under the floors of a residence at Stricker and Hollins streets. Union soldiers under General Benjamin Butler found them. Butler ordered the sixty-five-year-old secessionist, then a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, arrested and interned him at Fort McHenry. Some Unionists thought Winans merited hanging, but he was paroled after taking the prescribed oath. Incurable, Old Ross promptly loaded a schooner with arms for the South, only to have it seized before it left port. He was again arrested and again released.<sup>7</sup>

In the final chapter of the Winanses' Russian adventure, Thomas and William were recalled to Russia in 1866 to assume management of the St. Petersburg-to-Moscow railroad. The late Major Whistler's son, George William Whistler, half-brother of the artist, joined them in the firm of Winans, Whistler and Winans. After two years the Russian government bought out the American managers, reimbursed them for their outlay, and then sweetened the deal with a bonus of several million dollars.<sup>8</sup>

After the war Ross Winans turned his attention to America's first experiment in cheap, sanitary housing for industrial workers. He built more than a hundred four-story, two-apartment dwellings on McHenry Street, but in 1873, when they were completed, a financial depression set in and takers were few. He lost \$400,000 on the venture. In his last years the elder Winans wrote far-sighted tracts on education, public hygiene, and water supply. His writings on religion indicated that he questioned the existence of a deity. He died, aged eighty-one, on 11 April 1877. His son Thomas died the following year.<sup>9</sup>

Few mementos remain of the American-built Russian railroad. The Maryland Historical Society owns a copy of the contract between Thomas and William Winans, Joseph Harrison, and the Russian government, whereby the Americans undertook to repair and maintain the railroad, and a contemporary Russian print captures the public excitement surrounding the country's first rail line. One

wonders whether in the future the policy of *glasnost* will permit historians and archaeologists to conduct on-site research into this early example of Russian-American cooperation.

#### NOTES

1. B. Latrobe Weston, "Whistler, the Winans Brothers and the Russian Contract," Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 14 August 1940.
2. Ralph J. Sybert, "A Horse Trader Leaves His Mark," Baltimore *News-Post*, 29 December 1958; Jacques Kelly, "Fledgling B&O Found Genius in Ross Winans," Baltimore *News American*, 21 March 1973; Robert Selph Henry, *This Fascinating Railroad Business* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1943), p. 252.
3. Albert Parry, *Whistler's Father* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), pp. 26, 51.
4. Diaries of Frances Beall Knight and Fanny Knight, John Knight Papers, Duke University Library.
5. *Harper's Weekly*, 23 October 1858.
6. For background on Crimea, see Baltimore *American*, 7 September 1941, and Baltimore *Sun*, 10 May 1939.
7. Letter of Reginald Winans Hutton, great-grandson of Ross Winans, dated 5 February 1935, published in Baltimore *Sun*.
8. Weston, "Whistler, the Winans Brothers and the Russian Contract."
9. William Stump, "The Man Behind the Iron Horse," *Sun*, 24 February 1952; Charles Hirschfeld, "Baltimore's No. 1 Housing Experiment," *ibid.*, 21 August 1938.

## English Consul and the Labyrinth of Local Records

JOHN W. MCGRAIN

The large English Consul Mansion on Oak Grove Avenue is located in the narrow salient of Baltimore County between the southwestern city line and Anne Arundel County. The setting is on high ground, almost 2½ miles south of the Mount Clare Mansion, the next hilltop south of the city where an imposing house could be sited for a distinguished family. In 1798 this land had belonged to the heirs of Charles Croxall but contained only log houses.<sup>1</sup> By 1818, when owned by William Wood's heirs, the Assessor's Field Book entry read: "Improvements—none."<sup>2</sup> Known as the English Consul Mansion or House, this large dwelling has given its name to the neighborhood. The story of its association with a consular official from England sounded suspicious at first, but the legend bore up under close scrutiny.

In 1984, the author had researched the land title and the usual newspaper clippings about the property to prepare a report to the Baltimore County Landmarks Preservation Commission. The report was filed away. Then one day a student came to the Office of Planning to inquire about Rockland village, and the author suddenly noticed that the sons of the English consul had been the owners of the Rockland Print Works, a calico plant. On looking back into the myriad owners of Warren village, now under Loch Raven, I found the same family had been early owners of that cotton enterprise. One of the vague newspaper features had tied the family to shipbuilding, and gradually a picture emerged of a very enterprising clan, into everything from the 1820s to the 1840s. The search continued: looking for members of the family as grantors or grantees, as taxpayers, as testators, as defendants or plaintiffs, as ship owners, even as authors. The search occupied a few months with satisfying results, proving that persons and places leave many tracks in easily consulted local records, with not mere facts but story-telling materials accumulating as the end result. After reading an article about Old St. Paul's Burial Ground by Dr. Kent Lancaster, the author had a hunch that overseas Britons would choose that cemetery as the next best thing to interment in England, and instinct indeed proved right. Another hunch suggested that a newspaper with the title *Baltimore Clipper* must surely contain some news about shipping, and indeed it did. Looking for family members as authors in the *National Union Catalog* turned up only one item, a printed petition to Congress, but also a document with clues needed to tie the various partners together. The moral of the search is "keep on digging, there is always more history."

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The 1817–18 city directory listed “William Dawson, British Consul, 18 Lombard.”<sup>3</sup> A title search started from the present house led back to an indenture of lease signed on 23 November 1818 by William Dawson of Baltimore City. Henry Thompson and Peter Wirgman leased seven parcels of land to Dawson for 999 years.<sup>4</sup> An explanation of the lease, which cost one cent per year, was offered in 1924 by Emilie M. Rosch, who stated that an alien could not acquire title to property in fee under the Maryland constitution of that time.<sup>5</sup> The two historical articles about this house credit William Dawson as its builder. However, he had little time for the project, as the city papers reported the death of “William Dawson, Consul of his Britanic Majesty for Maryland” in October 1820.<sup>6</sup>

Dawson’s executrix was his wife Eleanor. The inventory taken in March 1821 included a 254-acre farm on Annapolis Road. The property was fully equipped with stock and implements, including three plows, three “thrashing” machines, and a haymaker. The house was well furnished, and the late consul had stocked his Sherry and Madeira by the pipe—the latter cask containing \$230 worth of Britain’s favorite fortified wine.<sup>7</sup>

Cemetery inscriptions at Old Saint Paul’s on West Lombard Street, Baltimore, give some insights into the family. Helen W. Ridgely reported in 1909 that the consul’s stone read:

William Dawson of Wakefield, Yorkshire, Esq., son of Ambrose Dawson of B\_\_\_\_\_ Hall, Yorkshire, Esq., Consul of His Britanic Majesty, for the State of Maryland. He died the 7th October 1820, aged 67 years.

Ridgely also noted that the consul’s wife was Eleanor Dawson, granddaughter of Richard Lee, Esq., of Blenheim, Charles County, Maryland.<sup>8</sup> Eleanor Dawson died at Brighton, England, on 29 September 1833, at the age of 60.<sup>9</sup>

A Dr. Ambrose Dawson of Langcliff, Yorkshire, was listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where he was shown as the son of a William Dawson and a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (1707–94). That entry mentioned no descendants, but other sources link the English consul (1753–1820) to the doctor.<sup>10</sup> William Dawson enrolled at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1770 and was twice married, first to Miss O’Kile, and then in 1795 to Eleanor Lee.<sup>11</sup>

Mrs. Ridgely probably copied the tombstone inscriptions after they had suffered weather damage, because three of the death years are given inaccurately for the Dawson children. The Saint Paul’s burial register provides the correct dates, which lead to newspaper obituaries. In addition, Orphans’ Court records in Towson give a complete list of the children of William and Eleanor Dawson.<sup>12</sup>

Little readily available information can be found about the second generation of Dawsons; if the author had not been simultaneously gathering data about cotton factories, the extensive business careers of the Dawson sons might well have been overlooked.

As early as 1819, the second William Dawson was listed in Baltimore directories as a merchant; beginning in 1822, the listing was for William Dawson & Co. The younger William married Sarah Jay, daughter of Peter Augustus Jay, in New York in 1836.<sup>13</sup> A gossip directory of affluent New Yorkers in 1842 placed Dawson’s assets at \$100,000, describing him as “an Englishman in the broker line, and if not worth this sum himself, will inherit it through his wife, the daughter of Peter

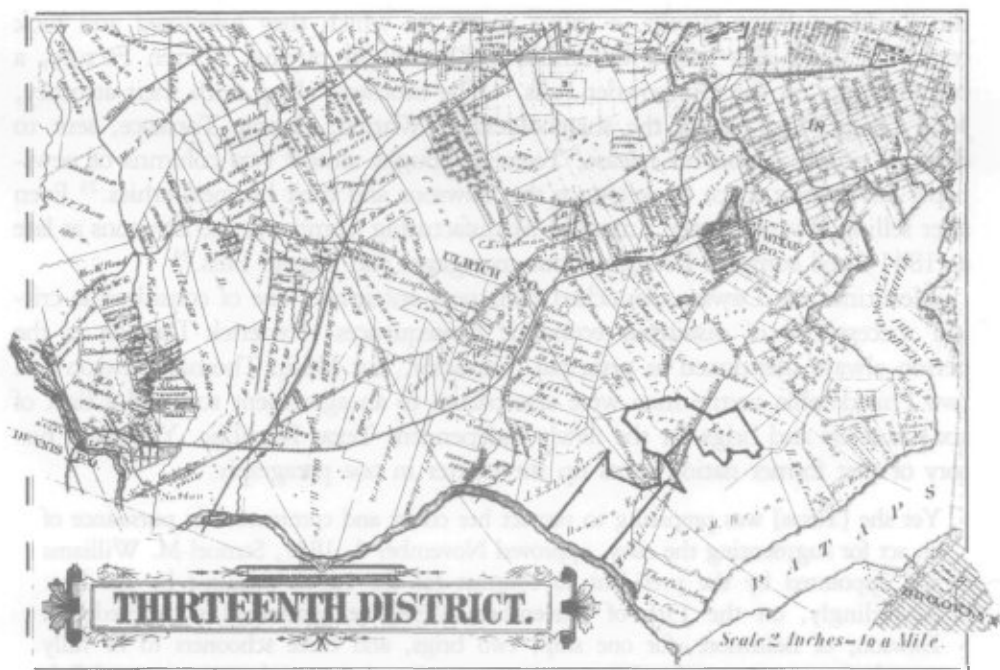


FIGURE 1. The Dawson Estate as shown in the G. M. Hopkins Atlas of Baltimore County, 1877.

A. Jay.”<sup>14</sup> Prior to his marriage, Baltimore directories had given Dawson’s address as Belvedere Street (probably near the Belvedere Bridge over Jones Falls), with the company’s office at 47 South Gay Street (old style, the equivalent of 55 South Gay Street in present numbers).<sup>15</sup> Dawson enjoyed but ten years of married life, the *Sun* reporting Sarah’s death in New York on 9 January 1846.<sup>16</sup>

Although Dawson had moved to New York, the company continued in Baltimore under control of his brothers. Charles Varlé, in his list of cotton mills published in 1833, showed William Dawson & Co. as commission merchants and agents for the Warren Factory in Baltimore County.<sup>17</sup>

Commission merchants had come into business to market the entire output of client textile mills, but they often took over ownership of factories to settle back debts in a capital-starved economy. The Baltimore house of Dawson was carried on by two younger brothers, Frederick Dawson (1802–68) and Philip Thomas Dawson (1803–43). Testimony in Towson records stated that William Dawson (2d) was born in England but naturalized as an American. Presumably some of his brothers and sisters also became citizens.<sup>18</sup> The only likely Dawson listed among Baltimore ship arrivals is a Frederick who landed on 30 June 1823, age 21, recorded as a resident of the United States—just the right age for the Frederick of interest to this narrative.<sup>19</sup>

One of the index cards in the Richard Randall file of Baltimore ships shows that in 1828 Frederick Dawson purchased a bark, “originally a brig,” from Baptist Mezick. Random discoveries showed William Dawson & Co. as owners or agents of a number of ships, including the *Glasgow*, a Liverpool packet, and the brig *Cybelle*.<sup>20</sup>

During the 1830s, the Dawsons held mortgages on Gist’s Shot Tower and on



the Rockland Print Works, a calico plant, on which they foreclosed and took control.<sup>21</sup> They also joined Columbus O'Donnell in buying Warren Factory, a cotton works on the Gunpowder Falls.<sup>22</sup> The brothers, along with their attorney, John Glenn, had one of the shareholders in Warren, George Torrance, sent to debtors' prison. Upon his release, Torrance bought almost two columns of newspaper advertising space to denounce the Dawsons and their business ethics.<sup>23</sup> Even after selling Warren to the American Manufacturing Company, the Dawsons as late as 1841 faced complex lawsuits about mortgages and unpaid bills.<sup>24</sup>

Meantime the Dawsons launched their next enterprise, one of considerable critical success but of disastrous economic consequences. Frederick Dawson is the person always mentioned as principal contractor, but Philip Thomas Dawson and two Philadelphia textile men were also parties to an agreement to build a fleet of six schooners and brigs for the newly independent Texas Republic. Yoakum's history of that former nation sums up the matter in one paragraph:

Yet she [Texas] was preparing to protect her coasts and commerce. In pursuance of an act for augmenting the navy, approved November 4, 1837, Samuel M. Williams was appointed by the president to contract for the vessels required by the law. Accordingly, on the 13th of November, 1838, he contracted with Frederick Dawson, of Baltimore, for one ship, two brigs, and three schooners to be fully armed, furnished with provisions and munitions and delivered in the port of Galveston, for which the contractor received two bonds of the republic of two hundred and eighty thousand dollars each, which might be redeemed by sterling bonds for



FIGURE 2. The five-bay-wide north elevation, facing Baltimore City, served as the original main facade of the English Consul Mansion. (Photo by the author, 1984.)



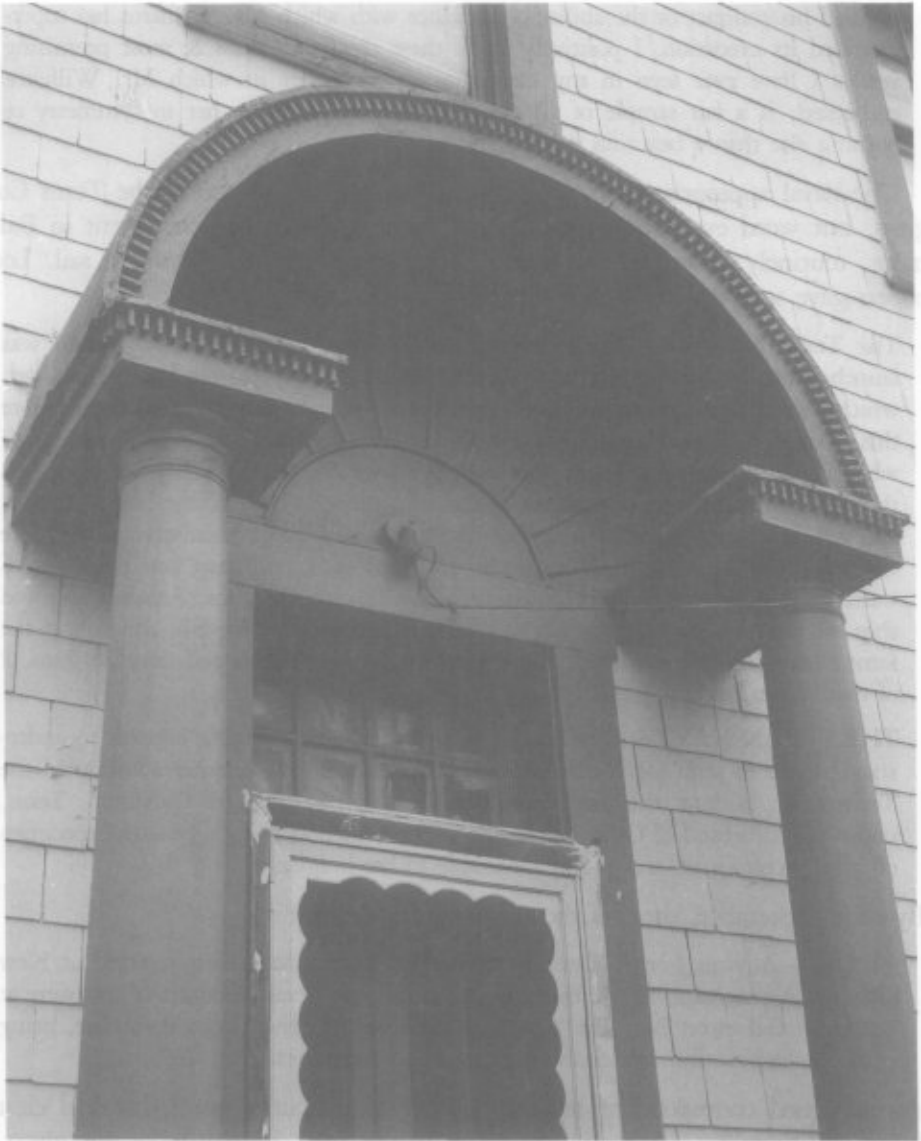


FIGURE 3. Detail of the elaborate entrance, including dentils and Doric columns, of the original primary facade of the English Consul House. (Photo by author, 1984.)

five hundred and twenty thousand dollars, or by payment of the face of the bonds with ten percent interest. If the bonds were not so satisfied by the 1st of December, 1839, then the bonds, deposited in the Girard Bank, were to be delivered over to the contractors.<sup>25</sup>

General James Hamilton described the excellence of the ships in a letter to President Mirabeau B. Lamar of Texas on 19 May 1839:

I have come down here for the purpose of examining the vessels building here under Mr. William's contract with Mr. Dawson. I have never been more delighted in my life. It will be one of the most beautiful squadrons in the world of its size, and I assure you that nothing can exceed the fidelity with which Mr. Dawson has thus far

fulfilled his contract or the ability & vigilance with which Mr. Williams has superintended its execution. I positively think these the handsomest & most promising vessels I have ever seen in my life. The new Schooner in which Mr. Williams embarked, is a fair sample of all the rest, & I can compare her in symmetry to nothing else than a beautiful woman.<sup>26</sup>

The naval appropriation had been passed in a secret session of the Texas Congress, but word eventually got out, and Henry Williams, Texas agent in Baltimore, routinely advertised for freight each time a ship was ready to sail. Local papers gave several mentions to the building program:

The Texas Navy is gradually increasing. The fourth vessel, (a schooner), was launched on Wednesday last from the yard of Mr. L. H. Durkin [sic]. The *Viper*, which was the first schmr. launched 4th April, has probably reached Texas before this. The *Asp*, another schmr., launched 23rd May, will sail tomorrow, and a brig, whose name we have not learnt, was launched from the yard of Mr. J. A. Robb, on the 18th inst. These vessels are all of beautiful models, built of the best materials, and have the appearance of what they will doubtless prove themselves, Baltimore Clippers. The schmr. admeasure about 130 tons each; will carry one pivot and 6 waist guns. The brig is about 260 tons, and will carry 12 guns. Another brig and ship are yet on the stocks, which will be launched early in the fall; the brig of the same class as the one launched, and the ship will be 350 tons, and carry 20 guns, 2 of them stern chasers.<sup>27</sup>

THE TEXAN NAVY.—The government of the "young republic" appear to understand where to send for vessels of war. The schooner *Asp*, another addition to the Texas navy, built at this port, sailed, on Sunday morning, for Galveston, Texas, under the command of Capt. Kane. She is represented as being a beautiful specimen of naval architecture, and highly creditable to her builders.<sup>28</sup>

By early September, three of the ships were in service:

TEXAS—Advices from Galveston to the 7th instant have been received at New Orleans. A paragraph in the Bulletin says that three Texas schooners-of-war were at anchor in Galveston Bay. The third had but recently arrived from Baltimore, being of the same beautiful model and dimensions as the others.<sup>29</sup>

An unnamed correspondent reported delivery of a fourth vessel that had cleared from Baltimore on 16 September. The names used in Baltimore are given in brackets:

Galveston. I arrived here in the (now) government brig Brazos, from Baltimore, having had a passage of 19 days from the cape.

The brig is one of the most beautiful specimens of naval architecture I ever saw. She is 405 tons burthden, 113 feet on deck, and is pierced for 18 guns; the weight of metal is for medium 18s; her sailing is far above mediocrity, having reportedly gone 12 and 13 knots.

There are now lying in this harbor five vessels of war, viz., brigs Brazos and Potomac, schrs. St. Bernard [*Scorpion*] and St. Antonio [*Asp*] and steamer Zavalla. The station is at present under the command of Captain A. C. Hinton. The San Jacinto [*Viper*] departed hence two or three weeks since under the command of Captain Lothrop. These, together with the sloop of war Trinity, and the brig of war Colorado (the latter of the same size as the Brazos,) now building at Baltimore, will constitute a very respectable navy.<sup>30</sup>

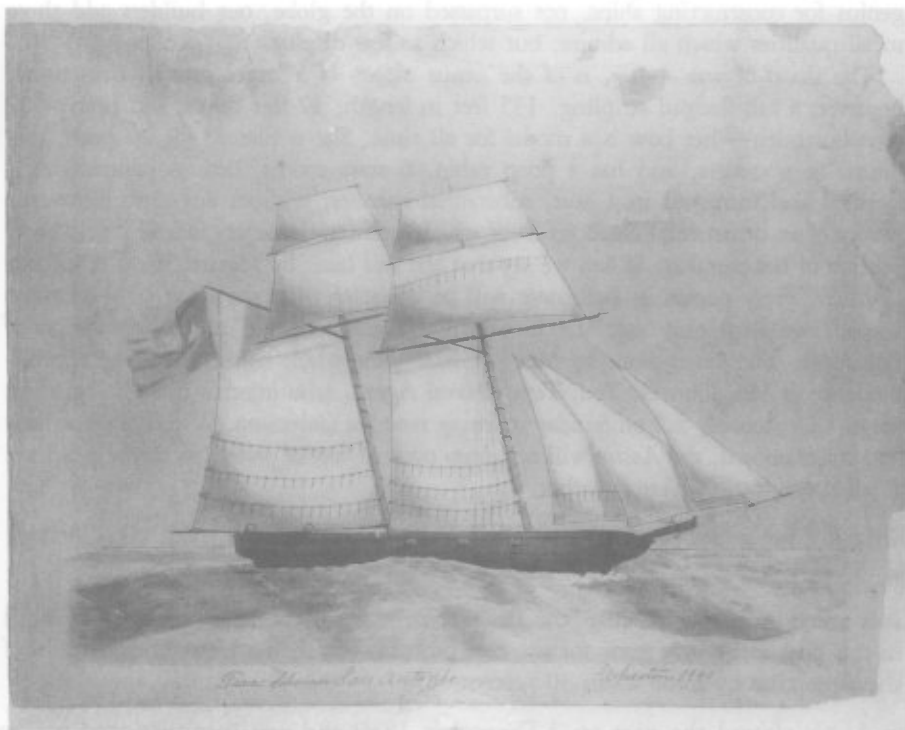


FIGURE 4. Texas Schooner *San Antonio*, launched at Dunkin's yard in Fells Point, Baltimore, 23 May 1839. (Barker Collection, University of Texas at Austin.)

There are some discrepancies about the name of the brigs. The *Brazos*, as it was consistently called by the Baltimore papers, was put to sea by Texas in November 1839 under the name *Colorado* and was showing the Lone Star flag and recruiting seamen on the East Coast when mentioned in December:

NAVAL—*Texan*.—The Texas brig of war *Colorado*, 16 guns, Commodore Moore, arrived at New York, on Monday evening last. She is Baltimore built, a fast sailer of course, and is said to be manned in a way that would make Mexicans rather shy of a meeting.<sup>31</sup>

The editor of the *Baltimore Clipper*, John H. Hewitt, took a stroll through Fells Point on November 20 and noticed the fifth ship, the "Texian corvette of war *Austin*" afloat opposite Corner's Wharf. Another such vessel, a "schooner" launched on November 18 and built by John Robb according to Hewitt, was tied up at Corner's Wharf. A week later he was invited to a bon voyage and buffet:

TEXAN SLOOP OF WAR AUSTIN. Descend with us the companion's ladder of the sloop of war *Austin*, gentle reader, and partake of the clear spread in her cabin, by her noble builder, that "old salt," Capt. K——, whose time honored visage assures us of a frank and hearty welcome, is master of ceremonies. Looking at that lordly ham, and those delicious Nanticoke oysters, that substantial baron of beef, backed by a reverend turkey; whisky punch such as our friend Johnny B.—or Rose usually makes;—champagne, in which toasts were pledged, thick and fast,—hear the mirth and wit growing fast and furious, and then you must confess, that to the

genius for constructing ships, not surpassed on the globe, our builders add those social qualities which all admire, but which so few display.

The sloop of war *Austin*, is of the genus *clipper*, of a larger growth than usual, however; a full fledged stripling, 135 feet in length, 32 feet beam, and nearly 600 tons burthden—her bow is a model for all time. She is pierced for 20 guns, medium 24 pounders, and has a poop cabin, 6 state rooms, besides pantries, &c., finished and furnished in a neat, substantial manner, without any embellishments purely of an ornamental character,—of which genuine character, indeed nearly every portion of her partakes. When we say that she was built by Messrs. Wm. & George Gardner, every person in Baltimore will be aware of what she must be;—to those abroad, we shall only say, she is worthy of, and will add to the reputation of Baltimore. The joiner-work by Mr. J. Glass;—the whole being under the superintendence of Mr. John G. Tod, Texan Naval Agent, who informs that the beautiful vessel will probably sail on Sunday morning next for Galveston. With her armament and stores aboard, the *Austin* will not draw over 11 feet of water, so that she can get at all times into Galveston harbor.<sup>32</sup>

Pushing for a "Baltimore Navy Yard," the *Sun* quoted its rival, the *Chronicle* in mid-December:

It is stated in that paper, that "the Texan ship," a heavy corvette, now being finished in this port and nearly ready for sea, cost probably less than a United States vessel of the same class by some 25 to 30 percent.<sup>33</sup>

The *Austin* cleared the port on 2 December 1839 and was commissioned in Texas

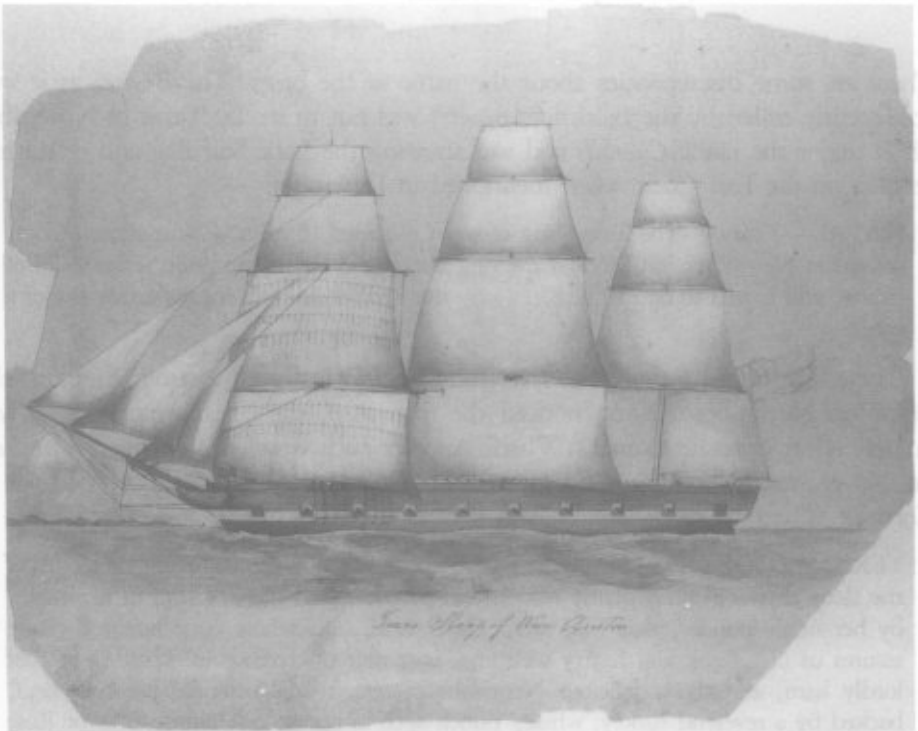


FIGURE 5. Texas Sloop-of-War *Austin*, launched at Gardner's yard, Fells Point, Baltimore, November 1839. (Barker Collection, University of Texas at Austin.)

on 5 January 1840. The daily marine list showed that "Capt. K\_\_\_\_\_" bore the name of Kelly.<sup>34</sup>

The sixth ship, the brig *Galveston* (later called the *Archer* and by some accounts *Brazos*) was advertised to leave Baltimore on 10 March was reported as cleared on the 16th, and reached its namesake city on 25 April 1840.<sup>35</sup> Baltimore papers disagree about which builder, Robb or Gardner, produced the two brigs, but registry records prove it to have been Robb. The shipyards were all within sight of each other: Robb's on Wolfe Street between Lancaster and Thames Streets; Dunkin's (not Durkin's) at the southeast corner of Thames and Wolfe Streets; and Gardner's (or Gardiner's) at the east end of Lancaster Street, just east of Washington Street.<sup>36</sup>

Tom Henderson Wells, in his 1960 history of the Texas navy, presented a statistical table for the entire fleet, noting the fate of each ship. For example, the elegant *Viper* or *San Jacinto* was wrecked in a gale on 25 November 1840, at Arcas Island, while the *Asp* or *San Antonio* was lost at sea in September 1842.<sup>37</sup> The Wells book, its table, and index suffer from internal conflict about the various name changes. Following the names used in the city papers when the ships' agent advertised for freight and when the ships were listed as having cleared the port, the Baltimore-built craft were:

TABLE 1.

Type	Yard Name	Renamed	Tons	Launched (1839)	Yard	Commissioned by Texas
Schooner	Viper	<i>San Jacinto</i>	141	4 April	L. H. Dunkin	27 June
Schooner	Asp	<i>San Antonio</i>	140	23 May	L. H. Dunkin	7 Aug.
Schooner	Scorpion	<i>San Bernard</i>	135	26 June	L. H. Dunkin	31 Aug.
Brig	Brazos	<i>Colorado,</i> <i>Wharton</i>	405	18 June	J. A. Robb	18 Oct.
Ship	Austin	<i>Texas</i>	589	? Nov.	W. & G. Gardner	5 Jan. 1840
Brig	Galveston	<i>Archer,</i> <i>Brazos (?)</i>	405	18 Nov.	J. A. Robb	25 April 1840

Source: Names and commission dates from Wells, *Commodore Moore*, pp. 15, 17, 186, 187. See also "Navy of Texas" and "Baltimore Ship Building," *Baltimore Commercial Journal*, 29 June, 14 December 1839; *Sun*, 2 July 1839; *Baltimore Clipper*, 21, 28 November 1839.

The only dark spot in the scene was the decline in value of Texas money and securities. Dr. Anson Jones, Texas minister to the United States and future president of the republic, had noted in his diary on 5 April 1839, "Every Texas shin-plaster now issued is a fraud and a national crime. . . ." Dr. Jones had embarked on the maiden voyage of the *Viper* at Baltimore with "Messrs. Williams and Bryan" for Galveston on 24 May 1839.<sup>38</sup>

As early as 17 December 1839, with Texas currency at a 76-percent discount, Frederick Dawson was writing to President Lamar about the interest due on the bonds.<sup>39</sup> A letter from J. A. Starr to the President on 9 October 1840, stated, "I am very anxious to know . . . how Mr. Dawson's business has been settled."<sup>40</sup>

With creditors closing in and no foreseeable rescue by the impoverished Texans, except President Sam Houston's offer to give the surviving ships back to the contractors, Frederick and Philip Thomas Dawson filed for federal bankruptcy, their

classified advertisements appearing on page one of the *Baltimore Republican* on 14 March 1843. Three days later, Philip Thomas Dawson died in his 39th year.<sup>41</sup> The cause of death is not reported in the papers but his signature on the bankruptcy petition is a palsied scrawl, hardly to be expected in a cultured family with an enviable private library.<sup>42</sup> Frederick's case came up on 15 April, and by 31 July he was decreed bankrupt. Original federal court lists of creditors and assets link Dawson to \$205,000 in 10-percent Texas bonds held in the Girard Bank of Philadelphia. All the cotton dealings and calico printing expenses are enmeshed in the Texas default problem. Debts listed included unpaid rental on Rockland Print Works and unpaid real estate taxes. Money due to Dawson included unpaid insurance claims on a lost merchant ship, the *America*.<sup>43</sup> The receivers appointed by the court were John Glenn and J. Mason Campbell, who promptly advertised the contents of the Rockland Print Works for sale at public auction.<sup>44</sup>

Apparently undaunted, Frederick Dawson became involved in the new firm of Dawson and Norwood, found in city directories of 1847.<sup>45</sup> Another lawsuit involved the ownership of a brick candle factory in Canton, Baltimore County.<sup>46</sup>

A Sunday feature in a Baltimore paper, quoting a source called *The Texas Scrapbook*, described "an enormous, jovial gentleman" named Frederick Dawson who went to the legislature at Austin to collect a debt after Texas became a state. This somewhat legendary Dawson won a contest in boisterous laughing over a Texas citizen named Bart Sims.<sup>47</sup> Dawson was indeed keeping in touch with Texas, and in 1841 had tipped off Charles H. Raymond, the Texas minister in Washington, that Mexico had arranged a \$4 million loan by pledging its customs receipts.<sup>48</sup> Also unavailing was Dawson's submission of a petition for payment to the U.S. Congress in 1848. This petition demonstrated that his other partners were James Schott and Elisha Dana Whitney of Philadelphia.<sup>49</sup> Philadelphia directories showed that Schott and Whitney were in "American dry goods" rather than shipbuilding, as even official Navy publications have stated.<sup>50</sup> Dawson clung to hope, and in an 1852 lawsuit stated that his late brother William had not actually been poor but "had a claim on the government of Texas."<sup>51</sup> Even after the Compromise of 1850, when Texas was granted funds by Congress, Dawson received nothing. Writing in 1856, Texas historian H. Yoakum stated, "It is not very creditable to Texas, that, after a lapse of more than fifteen years, these bonds are still unpaid."<sup>52</sup> Dawson, who had once been a resident of Baltimore's Exchange Hotel, retired to the family estate and was listed in the 1850 census as a farmer.

Dawson's propensity for getting into legal difficulties is further shown in the custody battle for his little niece, Mary Jay Dawson. In this instance, he defied a number of court orders and apparently got away with it. The second William Dawson had died at New York in March 1852, leaving a daughter Mary Jay Dawson, probably about nine years old.<sup>53</sup> Frederick Dawson went to New York and brought Mary Jay Dawson back to English Consul and then sent her to England in the company of his brother, Robert Lee Dawson, a Philadelphia merchant, the pair sailing from Baltimore on 31 August 1852. The child was turned over to Dawson's sisters, Mary Ann and Eleanor Georgiana Dawson, who lived with their married sister, Mrs. Frances Laura Macdonald, wife of archdeacon William Macdonald at Bishops Cannings, Wiltshire.

Elizabeth Clarkson Jay, the child's maternal aunt in New York, brought suit

against Frederick Dawson, and a subpoena was issued in his name on 6 August 1852. Miss Jay filed a bill of complaint against him in New York on 25 August, only five days before the ship bore the little girl to Le Havre. Miss Jay's document contrasted the "socially prominent" Jay family to Dawson and complained:

Mary Jay Dawson . . . was illegally brought to the neighborhood of the city of Baltimore in Baltimore County, where she is now unlawfully detained and kept by said Frederick Dawson at the country seat occupied by him.

Your oratrix further saith that said country seat is very unhealthy and is unfit for her residence and that her health has already been impaired by her residence there.

Your oratrix further saith that said Frederick Dawson being an unmarried man and living in a solitary manner with no ladies in his family is not and cannot be a suitable guardian.<sup>54</sup>

The original equity papers contain Mary Jay Dawson's boldly scrawled letters to "Uncle Fred," reporting a rough passage to Southampton, her visits to Salisbury and Winchester cathedrals, riding a donkey on the Downs at Bishops Cannings, and viewing the Duke of Wellington's funeral procession through London in 1852.<sup>55</sup>

Frederick Dawson was served various court orders to produce the little girl during 1853 and 1854, although he had been appointed guardian by Judge John Glenn on 12 June 1852. The Baltimore County suit was finally dismissed in October 1854 and Mary Jay Dawson was brought up among the gentry of Wiltshire.

Frederick Dawson died at the farm on 30 September 1868, aged 66 or 67, and was buried in Saint Paul's yard by the Reverend Milo Mahan on 2 October.<sup>56</sup> His sister Eleanor Georgiana Dawson, who had apparently returned from Bishops Cannings, died at English Consul only six days later at age 62 and was also buried at Old Saint Paul's.<sup>57</sup> Frederick Dawson was accorded the title of "Esquire" in the newspaper obituary, although no biographical data was published.

Robert Lee Dawson, then a resident of London, served as executor of the Frederick and Eleanor Georgiana Dawson estates, inserting a notice to creditors in the Towson paper in mid-November, when he may have come to Maryland.<sup>58</sup> Frederick Dawson's inventory was taken under court order issued 16 November 1868. Like the other members of this once-large family, he owned only a fractional share, although J. C. Sidney's 1850 county map and Robert Taylor's 1857 map both showed it as property of Frederick Dawson. The 1868 enumeration mentioned the land on Annapolis Road, listing a brick and frame mansion house, a milk house, log stable, pigeon house, two-story frame farmer's house, "all of which are in bad repair, subject to a ground rent of one cent." Dawson had a library room and its inventory included many volumes of English history, two volumes of Samuel Johnson's dictionary, Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, five folio volumes of Ephraim Chamber's *Cyclopaedia, or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, and other desirable editions.<sup>59</sup> Dawson returned to England and died at Bath on 26 April 1871. Described in his will as a retired London merchant, he had once done business in Philadelphia. He was the only Dawson to enter a will into the Baltimore County books.<sup>60</sup>

To account for all the unresolved shares of the long deceased family members,



the Baltimore County Orphans' Court in June 1873 ordered an inventory for William Dawson (2d). That inventory was followed in the record books by inventories of Robert Lee Dawson, Frederick, Eleanor Georgiana, and Mary Dawson.<sup>61</sup> The 1876 tax ledger listed the "Dawson Estate Tract, either side of Annapolis Road, 265 acres" with \$2,750 worth of improvements, the whole place worth \$16,033.<sup>62</sup> The property was shown in the 1877 Hopkins atlas, very irregular in shape, both sides of the road, stretching to the north bank of the Patapsco.

Various fractional shares were acquired by Mary Jay Dawson, the young girl in the custody battle, starting in January 1870 with a deed from her uncle, Robert Lee Dawson.<sup>63</sup> Mary Jay Dawson stayed in England and in 1871 conveyed her interests in trust to two New York lawyers in connection with her marriage to Colonel Colville Frankland of the 103rd Royal Fusiliers.<sup>64</sup> In 1908, Mrs. Frankland, then living in Howe, England, along with the successors of the original trustees, sold the property to Charles W. Hull, a southwest county developer.<sup>65</sup> Hull also bought the interests of Flora Georgiana Kinsley and Marion K. Macdonald, daughters of the archdeacon. A few months later Hull sold twenty acres to Conrad H. Unger, who two years later sold them to Otto F. Unger.<sup>66</sup>

Starting in 1911 with a *Sunday Sun* feature story,<sup>67</sup> some further information on the house and its architectural changes surfaces. A line drawing accompanying the unsigned article showed a small, two-story clapboard wing attached to the west side of the house where there is now a garage. The "house built more than a century ago" was "in a good state of preservation," and all its materials "imported from England." There were seventeen rooms, brownstone fireplaces, Italian marble mantels, mahogany banisters, silver doorknobs, and inside doors of eight panels each, topped by pediments. Total dimensions were 90 by 50 feet. A suit of armor found there had been taken away by Colonel Frankland of the British army. There was a grove of sweet honeybean trees, birch, and oak, including the tree featured in the legend, then more than fifteen feet in girth and 175 feet high. Otto F. Unger, the owner, was described as private secretary to William A. Stone, the port's collector of customs.

Legal records and oral testimony outline the house's story in this century. The 1911 tax ledger showed Unger with a house worth \$2,000, a barn (\$200), and an "outbuilding" (\$75). Corrections to the ledger entered as "New 1917" were "Addition to house—\$400."<sup>68</sup> The 1918 tax ledger gave the value of the house as \$2,415 and its dimensions as 48 by 37 feet.<sup>69</sup> The 1919 tax ledger gave the same value and dimensions.<sup>70</sup> The 1923 ledger valued the house at \$3,000, giving no measurements.<sup>71</sup> Burton F. Unger, age 74 in 1985, recalled how his uncle, Otto F. Unger, pulled off the framed west end of the house and moved it over greased planks by horse power to a new location about a half-block to the west. Burton Unger was a small child at the time and recalled riding along with the house segment. The fragment became a separate dwelling and still stands. In the main house, Unger recalled tunnels where old vases were stored; there were many fireplaces in the bedrooms, and a child could slide down two stories or more on polished banisters of the spiral stairway. The upper story offered a view of Baltimore harbor. Unger also recalled the enormous oak tree used "to lash the slaves." His uncle developed lots along Oak Grove Avenue and later went into the construction business.<sup>72</sup> In August 1923 Unger and his wife sold six-and-a-half acres



to Ambrose Laukaitis, and the house remained in that family until 1956.<sup>73</sup> Dr. Paul Schonfield and his wife Lillian bought the house in 1956 and tried to obtain a zoning variance to conduct a nursing home.<sup>74</sup> Unable to convert the premises to that use, they sold it in 1963 to the present owners, Roland J. and Remedios Plummer.

The English Consul legend that appeared in the *Sun* in 1911—collected from the 86-year-old Thomas James McGill (of 116 East Montgomery Street, Baltimore) and from 90-year-old Marguerite Riley, a former slave still living “within the shadow” of the towering oak tree—failed to note that William Dawson had lived but three years after acquiring the land here and placed the consul’s arrival in 1786, well before adoption of the U.S. Constitution. The story went that Frederick Dawson was the brother of the consul, William. He had committed some sort of crime in defense of his honor in England and was sentenced to be transported to Australia. But, through the influence of his parents, his sentence was “commuted” to being remanded to the custody of his brother, provided he would be given thirty lashes each year on the anniversary of the offense. Thomas James McGill recalled that when he was age twelve (ca. 1835), he cut through the Dawson property to get water from a common spring and that Frederick Dawson, whom he placed about 50 years of age, then told him the next day was the anniversary of his crime (he could not recount it to a young boy) and of his punishment. The next day, McGill watched from a polite distance while Dawson was tied to the oak tree and beaten; in fact, McGill’s cousin, William Hawkes, was paid \$5 to serve as executioner—the Dawson slaves refusing to do the job, even under threat.<sup>75</sup> In 1924, Emilie M. Rosch stated that the son of the whipper still lived near the manor house.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, a family connection with Marguerite Riley can be found in the Administration Accounts for Frederick Dawson, when his executor, Robert Lee Dawson, paid her \$27.50 in 1869 “on account.”<sup>77</sup>

Frederick Dawson, in fact, was the son of the original consul, not his brother, and the rationale of the exile story seems to fall apart, as Frederick was but fourteen years old at the time of his father’s appointment to Baltimore and about eighteen when the consul died. He was apparently involved in mercantile pursuits with his brother William, starting about age twenty, leaving little time to disgrace himself in British society.

Thus intensive study of different sources produces an account both less and more than legend.

#### NOTES

1. Federal Direct Assessment, Patapsco Upper Hundred, Particular List of Lands, 1798, Entries # 3534, 3536.

2. Assessor’s Field Book, District 1, 1818, Hall of Records, Annapolis (hereafter HR), HR 8236-4-40-5.

3. Matchett’s *Baltimore Directory*, 1817–18, p. 46.

4. Baltimore City Deeds, WG 148:366 (Clarence Mitchell Courthouse).

5. Emilie M. Rosch, “The English Consul Estate,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* (here-

after *MHM*), 19 (1924): 11. The problem was caused by Laws of Maryland, acts of 1814, chapter 79, which secured titles only to naturalized persons.

6. *Baltimore American*, 9 October 1820.

7. Baltimore County Inventories, WB 33:614, HR.

8. Helen W. Ridgely, "The Ancient Churchyards of Baltimore," *Grafton Magazine*, 1 (March 1909): 111.

9. *American*, 4 March 1834.

10. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Dawson, Dr. Ambrose." Also, John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (3 vols.; London, 1848), Supplemental Volume, p. 98.

11. John Venn and J. A. Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigiense* (6 vols.; Cambridge, England: University Press, 1922-54), 2:25.

12. Baltimore County Orphans' Court Records, Administration Accounts, OPM 4:535-36, County Courts Building, Towson (hereafter BC).

13. *American*, 13 February 1836.

14. Moses Yale Beach, *Wealth & Pedigree of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City* (New York, 1842), p. 9.

15. Matchett's *Baltimore Directory*, 1819, n.p.; 1822, p. 73; 1833, p. 53.

16. *Baltimore Sun*, 17 January 1846.

17. Charles Varlé, *A Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 102.

18. Mary Jay Dawson by Her Next Friend, Elizabeth C. Jay-v.-Frederick Dawson, 1852, Equity File No. 637, BC.

19. Michael H. Topper, ed., *Passenger Arrivals at the Port of Baltimore, 1820-34* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1982), p. 125.

20. Randall Maritime File, Maryland Historical Society; *American*, 7 November 1839 and 1 April 1840.

21. *American*, 18 September 1839.

22. Baltimore City Deeds, WG 210:98.

23. *Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, 25 January 1836.

24. Baltimore County Chancery Dockets, 1838-43, f. 117, HR No. 19,973-76. Also, Chancery Papers No. 12,215 (1835), HR.

25. Henderson K. Yoakum, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (2 vols.; New York, 1856), 2:243.

26. Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., and Katherine Elliott, eds., *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (6 vols.; Austin, Texas: A.C. Baldwin Printers, 1922), 2:578.

27. *Lyford's Baltimore Price Current and Internal Improvement Journal*, 29 June 1839.

28. *Sun*, 2 July 1839.

29. *American*, 19 September 1839.

30. *American*, 9 November 1839; *Sun*, "Port of Baltimore, September 16," 17 September 1839.

31. *Sun*, 12 December 1839; Tom Henderson Wells, *Commodore Moore and the Texas Navy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960), pp. 15, 20, 21.

32. *Baltimore Clipper*, 21, 28 November 1839.

33. *Sun*, 18 December 1839.

34. Wells, *Commodore Moore*, p. 27; "Marine List," *American*, 2 December 1839.

35. *Baltimore Commercial Journal and Lyford's Price Current*, 7 March 1840; "Marine List," *American*, 16 March 1840; Wells, *Commodore Moore*, pp. 29, 31.

36. Norman G. Rukert, *The Fells Point Story* (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1976), pp. 112, 113; *Baltimore Directory*, 1837-38, pp. 137, 268; Poppleton's 1851 *Plan of*

Baltimore; Master Abstracts of Registrations Issued at Baltimore, 1815–1911, Ms. 2323 in Randall Maritime File, MHS (s.v. "Galveston" and "Brazos").

37. Wells, *Commodore Moore*, pp. 186, 187; "Baltimore Ship Building," *Baltimore Commercial Journal*, 14 December 1839. The *San Antonio* was wrecked at Stirrup Key, Bahamas, *Baltimore Republican and Argus*, 6 January 1843.

38. Anson Jones, *Memorandum and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas, Its History and Annexation* (New York, 1859), p. 33.

39. Gulick and Ellicott, eds., *Papers of Lamar*, 3:202; *American*, 14 November 1839.

40. Gulick and Ellicott, eds., *Papers of Lamar*, 3:458.

41. *Republican and Argus*, 14, 21 March 1843.

42. Petition 485, Bankruptcy Act of 1843, Case Files Record Group 27, Records of the U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland, National Archives, Philadelphia Branch.

43. Petition 484, *ibid.*

44. *Republican and Argus*, 1 May 1843.

45. Matchett's *Baltimore Director*, 1847–48, p. 88.

46. Chancery Records, B169:415, HR.

47. V. P. Ellison, "Mystery of Laughter and the Lash," *Sun*, 28 November 1948. The *National Union Catalog* dates the *Texas Scrapbook* at 1927 rather than ca. 1878.

48. Jones, *Memorandum*, p. 381.

49. Frederick Dawson, "Petition of Frederick Dawson, James Schott, and Elisha Dena Whitney, praying payment for certain vessels &c, furnished Texas, and given up by Texas to the United States on the Annexation of Texas, January 13, 1848. Referred to the Committee of Claims, and Ordered to be printed," (Washington, D.C., 1848), pp. 1–6; *Congressional Globe*, 13 January, 26, 30 June, 21 December 1848; 18, 19, 25, 26 January 1849; *Sun*, 27 January 1849.

50. A. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for the Year 1849* (Philadelphia, 1849), p. 402.

51. "Answer of Frederick Dawson," 1852, BC Equity File No. 637.

52. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, 2:243n; "The Texas Debt," *New York Times*, 27 July 1852.

53. "Answer of Frederick Dawson," Equity File No. 637.

54. "Bill of Complaint" by Elizabeth C. Jay, 25 August 1852, Equity File No. 637.

55. "Exhibit E," 1852, Equity File No. 637. The ship was the *Admiral* under Captain Bliffen, "Marine List, Port of Baltimore," *Republican and Argus*, 31 August 1852.

56. *American*, 3 October 1868; "St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Records of Parishioners," Ms. 1727, MHS.

57. "St. Paul's Parish Records," Ms. 1727, MHS.

58. Towson *Maryland Journal*, 21 November 1868.

59. BC Inventories, OPM 8:416, 421.

60. BC Wills, OPM 4:173.

61. BC Inventories, OPM 11:222, 567, 572, 574, 576, 578.

62. BC Tax Ledger, District 13, 1876, f. 22 (recently transferred to HR).

63. BC Deeds, EHA 65:9.

64. BC Deeds, EHA 70:559.

65. BC Deeds, WPC 333:316, WPC 333:322; Judicial Records, WPC 215:121. Mrs. Frances Laura Macdonald had died at West Kensington, 22 July 1904. She had remained an American citizen. One of her sons was the Rev. Frederick William Macdonald ("Freddy" in the 1852 letters of Mary Jay Dawson), who enrolled at Queen's College, Oxford, 1865, and was appointed vicar of Staplefield in 1877.

66. BC Deeds, WPC 356:315; WPC 337:68.

67. "British Consulate, The Refuge of an English Exile 125 Years Ago," *Sun*, 24 September 1911.

68. BC Tax Ledger, District 13, 1911, f. 580.

69. BC Tax Ledger, District 13, 1918, Vol. O-Z, f. 368.

70. BC Tax Ledger, District 13, 1919, f. 814.

71. BC Tax Ledger, District 13, 1923, f. 825.

72. Personal communication, Burton F. Unger of Baltimore Highlands to author, 13 August 1985. The house fragment (not shown in the 1915 Bromley atlas) was sold to Fredericka M. and Theresa Roesch in 1917, Deeds WPC 487:138; the Roesch house measured 20 by 53 in the 1918 tax ledger.

73. BC Deeds, GLB 2918:155.

74. BC Deeds, GLB 2918:155; RRG 4131:267.

75. *Sun*, 24 September 1911. The bankruptcy papers of 1843 listed no slaves, but three were included in the 1850 census (First District, f. 293). Dawson would have been about age 33 rather than 50 years old ca. 1835, when McGill's "memory" placed the event.

76. Rosch, "English Consul Estate," p. 13.

77. BC Administration Accounts, OPM 4:393.

## Book Reviews

*Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club, 1745–1756.* By John Barry Talley. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Pp. xvi, 312 [Music occasionally on pp. 68–115, and throughout pp. 145–305.] Index. \$29.95.) *Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1745–1756.* Edited by Elaine G. Breslaw (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Pp. xxxviii, 599. \$39.95)

It is wonderful to have these two books in print. They make available to students and the public the best record of club life in America during the eighteenth century, an age of clubs. Every town of any size in colonial America had at least one club, but, thanks to the genius of the Annapolis physician Dr. Alexander Hamilton, none in England or America is as well documented as the Tuesday Club. All students of early America are familiar with the consummate literary artistry of Dr. Alexander Hamilton because his journal of a trip from Annapolis to Maine and back in the summer of 1744, *The Itinerarium*, is colonial America's best travel diary. The only travel record almost as interesting as Hamilton's *Itinerarium* is the comparatively short journal of Sarah Kemble Knight, who went from Boston to New York and back in the fall of 1704.

Hamilton left two dramatically different versions of the activities of the Tuesday Club. One version, "The Record of the Tuesday Club," is a revised, fair copy of the minutes. The rough minutes are at Evergreen House, Johns Hopkins University Library. The revised, fair copy—the source of Elaine G. Breslaw's edition—is located at the Maryland Historical Society (vol. 1) and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress (vol. 2). It is a much fuller record of what happened in the club than the drafts of the minutes because it also contains copies of speeches delivered in the club, Hamilton's drawings of club members and club incidents, poems, and music composed for the club—practically none of which is present in the original minutes.

The second version, "The History of the Tuesday Club," consisting of an elaborate revision of the records with the addition of facetious names for all the members and visitors to the club, elaborate prefaces and asides, is located at Evergreen House. Though it contains all the material (with a few exceptions) present in the "Record," it adds an overall structure and introductory chapters (in the manner of Fielding's *Tom Jones*) to each of the twelve books of the "History."

It has long been known that the "Record of the Tuesday Club" is an essential reference for the cultural life of colonial America and that the "History of the Tuesday Club" is a classic work of colonial American literature. It has not hitherto been so well recognized that the music in Hamilton's manuscripts gives so full a portrait of colonial American musical life or that the compositions by the Reverend Thomas Bacon that Hamilton recorded in the "Record Book" and "History" were so complex or so good.

John Barry Talley has given us an exemplary study of the Tuesday Club music. He prints all of the music recorded in the "Record Book" and in the "History" of the Tuesday Club and prints a selection of the music (which includes a minuet by Thomas Bacon) recorded in John Ormsby's notebook of fifty-five minuets at the Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Lincoln Center, New York. Ormsby, who advertised in the *Maryland Gazette*, was a dancing master and music teacher who made a fair copy book of fifty-five minuets in Annapolis on 30 January 1758.

Talley had to overcome enormous obstacles in presenting this splendid study of the Tuesday Club music. One major chapter in his book is devoted to "Songs, Odes, and

Incidental Music of the Tuesday Club" (pp. 65–120). Most songs sung in the club were simply recorded by name. Only the original tunes by Bacon and a few lyrics of unusual songs of the day were written out. But what everyone knew in the eighteenth century can be the hardest of all knowledge to uncover in the twentieth. Talley has, with just a few exceptions, managed to supply the music and lyrics for all the named songs. His recovery of this material from specialized libraries throughout Great Britain and the United States is a major achievement. The only bit of interesting information that I can add is that "Bumpers Squire Jones," which John Lomas was asked to sing at the club meeting on 21 March 1749, was also given as the tune for a song in an American periodical in 1758 (see Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry . . . Through 1756* [Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1972], no. 1515).

The other major triumph of Talley's specialized knowledge is his creation of the missing passages of music by Bacon. Because of the acid in the ink and because the pages of manuscript containing the music are so filled with the musical scores, parts of many pages of the music have dissolved during the more than two centuries since Hamilton wrote it. An expert musician, Talley has supplied hypothetical passages where the acid in the ink has eaten away portions of the paper. He has also corrected Hamilton's occasional musical slips as Hamilton copied Bacon's scores.

I can add a few minutiae to his notes. Talley speculates that the "eight musical bells rung by an electrified Phial," mentioned in the *Maryland Gazette* for 10 May 1749 were "possibly the work of Benjamin Franklin" (pp. 29 and 41n). They were devised by Franklin, but the lectures in Annapolis were given by Ebenezer Kinnersley in the first public presentation of the Franklinian system of electricity and the first public demonstration (albeit in miniature) of the efficacy of lightning rods (see Lemay, *Ebenezer Kinnersley, Franklin's Friend* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964], pp. 62–71). I might note that Hamilton supplied a key bit of evidence in my proof that Kinnersley gave the lectures in Annapolis: Hamilton recorded that Kinnersley visited the Tuesday Club on 16 May and 13 June 1749 (see Breslaw, *Records*, pp. 127, 130). Talley suggests that the "Recruiting Song, For the Maryland Independent Company," published in the *Maryland Gazette* on 19 September 1754 and composed by an officer of the company, might have been by Lt. John Bacon, son of Thomas Bacon (pp. 33 and 42n); I advocated his authorship in my *Calendar*, no. 1211. Since the first line of a song often indicated the title by giving a version of a well-known first line or refrain, I strongly suspect that the tune to the "Recruiting Song" was "Over the Hills and Far Away," a popular song throughout the eighteenth century (see Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1966], pp. 561–63).

At first I wondered if Talley were joking when I read his comment about the Scots song "Jog Hooly Good Man": "The precise meaning of the term *jog* in this context is unclear" (p. 74). It refers to the movements in sexual intercourse. One minor confusion occurs when Talley mentions William Boyce's song of 1758, subtitled "The Sailor's Return from Cape Breton," as referring to the 1745 battle (p. 87). Boyce was no doubt celebrating the second battle of Cape Breton; it occurred in 1757 (the earlier one was primarily won by American troops; the latter, by English).

Elaine G. Breslaw's edition of the *Records of the Tuesday Club* has a good introduction (though I found some of the statements, such as Poe "was inspired by" the Tuesday Club, overblown) and accurately prints the substantives of Hamilton's text. I could wish that the book were completely unmodernized and that the substantive variants were printed in appendices, but I realize that such a procedure would have increased the price of the book. Rereading the *Records* in printed form (I read them first over twenty-five years ago in manuscript), I was delighted to see how the "machinery" of the Tuesday Club names,

titles, badges, and ceremonies gradually developed as the club evolved. The *Records of the Tuesday Club* reveals its transformation from a simple men's social society to a complex satire on eighteenth-century attitudes, ideas, institutions, and forms. The final result of the transformation is not available in the *Records of the Tuesday Club* but in the previously-mentioned "History of the Tuesday Club," a three-volume work meticulously edited by Robert Micklus of the State University of New York, Binghamton, which has been going through the monumentally slow editorial processes of The Institute of Early American History and Culture for over six years.

Unfortunately, Breslaw's edition of *The Record of the Tuesday Club* contains few annotations and a poor index. One would have liked to have had brief biographical sketches of all the persons mentioned, annotations for all obscure allusions, identifications of the occasions for the balls and other festivities mentioned, etc. At least there is a name index for the members and for the visitors to the club, though persons mentioned incidentally, like General Edward Braddock, are not in the index. And, alas, subjects are not indexed.

The quality of the reproductions in the *Records of the Tuesday Club* is wretched. Shame on the University of Illinois Press! Hamilton was an interesting artist and deserves to have his Hogarthian ink sketches presented in as much detail, as attractively, and as accurately as possible. The nearly thirty sketches reproduced herein are uniformly miserably faint. They should someday be well reproduced with an accompanying essay by a good art historian. Indeed, an art historian might be able to present us with as valuable a study of Hamilton's sketches as Talley has done with the music that Hamilton recorded.

Despite minor reservations, I am delighted to see these two extraordinarily valuable resources in print. John Barry Talley has given us a definitive study of the Tuesday Club music. His book is a major contribution to our knowledge of colonial American music. And Elaine G. Breslaw has done excellent work in transcribing and making widely available the *Records of the Tuesday Club*.

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*From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore County.* By John W. McGrain. (Vol. I, Baltimore County Heritage Publication. Towson: Baltimore County Public Library, 1985. Pp. 380. Glossary, bibliography, maps, subject index, name and place index, illustrations. \$25.00.)

Various historians make compelling arguments for class, ethnicity, sex, or race as the determinant guiding social history. Maybe so, but work may be an even more important frame of reference. Farmers, for example, are peculiar as a group because the object of their occupational attention lives—sun to sun, season to season. Farmers have to adjust their lives to the lives of their crops. Factory workers follow a regime which, to an enormous extent, precedes and conditions the larger realm of their health, wealth, and happiness. Work extends a radiating influence from the individual to the family, to the community, and the society, like ripples from a stone cast into a pond. This is not John McGrain's stated theme, but it certainly reads that way.

Volume I is the "pig iron" part of the history of manufacturing villages in Baltimore County. It begins with the first furnaces and forges, built in 1731 by the Baltimore Iron Works Company near the mouth of Gwynns Falls, and comes to the present with economic difficulties facing Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point yard. The coverage, like steel, is a homologous mix of elements: technological developments, economic trends, and people's lives. There is so much detail that almost any subsequent writer of Maryland history will have to consult McGrain for names, places, dates, business connections, and

industrial events. As a collector of accurate information, John McGrain is a worthy successor to the late William B. Marye.

The chapters are arranged by subject with alphabetical subsections for various iron works. The fourth chapter, unlovingly titled "Miscellaneous Bulk Products," deals with paper mills, powder works, rendering and fertilizer plants, and one "steam-curled" hair factory (indeed, "the largest of its kind in the world," turning out 30,000 lbs. of horse-hair mattress stuffing a week). Many were no more than a business and a few homes, now extinct, like "Helldown," so named for the flickering night lights of its lime kilns. "Many of the industrial villages described here could be analyzed at greater length" (p. 4), McGrain readily admits, but he succeeds in doing what he intended—locating the sites, giving their beginning and ending dates, and filling in missing genealogical links. There is a great deal of local history in the captions of some 400 illustrations.

In two appendices, "An Era of High Risk" and "Church Finances in a Worker Parish," McGrain describes a bit of 19th century health and welfare, insofar as they existed. Actually, these sections are a narrative of disease, accidents, poverty, high infant mortality, alcoholism, and mental depression. Some of the primary source quotations read like descriptions in *Oliver Twist*.

With this volume and a second one on cotton mills, as well as his earlier work on "molinography" (flour mills), John McGrain might be called the leading explorer—and finder—of Maryland's industrial heritage.

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*"This Awful Drama": General Edwin Gray Lee, C.S.A., and His Family.* By Alexandra Lee Levin. (New York: Vantage Press, 1987. Pp. vii, 248. notes, index. \$14.95.)

Family histories are usually published because the family is famous (or closely connected to someone famous) or because the family history will offer a unique insight into a particular period of history. Edwin Gray Lee and his family actually fulfill both of these criteria. They were relatives of General Robert E. Lee, who is remembered as one of America's greatest military leaders. While Edwin never achieved the fame of his cousin, he did serve creditably in the Confederate States Army. His intimate acquaintances included several well known Confederate figures, among them Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, Alexander Boteler, William Pendleton, J.E.B. Stuart, and Henry Kyd Douglas. But by using extensive family letters, diaries, and other manuscript sources Ms. Levin has also compiled an interesting glimpse of the trials, travels, and tribulations of a well-connected Virginia family during the Civil War.

Levin first traces the lineage of Edwin Lee's family and places it in Shepherdstown, (West) Virginia, shortly before the Civil War. Lee's father, Edmund Jennings Lee II, a cousin of Robert E. Lee, had two children by a previous marriage. His second wife, Henrietta Bedinger, came from an aristocratic family in Shepherdstown. Edwin was the oldest of their five children, who included two daughters—Ida and Henrietta (or Netta as she was called)—and two more sons, Edmund Jennings III and Henry Bedinger. (While the family relations are clear enough to the devoted buff of the Lee family or the Confederacy, a chart or "family tree" would be a welcome addition to the book; there is no table of contents, so the casual reader or researcher is forced to leaf through chapters to find specific chronological data). Not only was Edwin Lee a cousin of Robert E. Lee, while studying law in Lexington, Virginia, Edwin became enamored of Sue Pendleton, daughter of Reverend William Nelson Pendleton, who became a prominent Confederate artillery officer, and they were married shortly before the Civil War. Sue Pendleton Lee later in life wrote a biography of her father.



Edwin Lee's military career was highly diverse. Early in the war he rose from the legendary "Stonewall" Jackson's first aide-de-camp to the brief command of the famous Stonewall brigade. He was confirmed in the rank of colonel but resigned from active service due to recurrences of tuberculosis. While visiting his family in Shepherdstown, he was taken prisoner, had a pleasant chat with George Custer, and was soon exchanged. Seeking re-assignment, Lee temporarily commanded the important supply depot at Staunton, Virginia, and was responsible for removing much of the material stored there before Union General David Hunter's destructive raid. Accompanied by his wife, Lee was then sent to Canada to assume direction of the Confederate secret service efforts there. In this capacity he aided the Confederate raid on St. Albans, Vermont, plotted to free prisoners at several Union prison camps, and assisted one of the Lincoln conspirators, John Surratt, to escape. After the end of the war seeking a healthier environment, Lee returned to Shepherdstown, where he spent most of his time writing poetry to support himself. He died in August, 1870, at the age of 33.

A large portion of Levin's book is made up of material gleaned from letters and diaries of Lee's mother and sisters. Mrs. Henrietta Lee and her daughters Netta and Ida were well educated and wrote movingly about the wartime hardships they encountered. Mrs. Lee had already endured the accidental burning of her first home, Leeland, and is remembered for her vivid denunciation of General Hunter, who ordered the burning of her second home. Mrs. Lee's stinging letter demanding an explanation from the incendiary Hunter and its widespread reprinting in several leading newspapers is well covered in the book. Ida and Netta's letters reveal other aspects of home life in the lower Shenandoah Valley, and Netta's descriptions of nursing the wounded after the battle of Antietam are especially interesting to scholars of the Maryland campaign.

Too often, however, the book is cluttered with material only tangential to Edwin Lee and his family. For example, a long account detailing the later activities of soldiers Netta nursed is covered, while Edwin's father and brothers Edmund and Henry are seldom mentioned. A brief outline of Edmund II's activities on the homefront and of Edmund III's service in the Confederate cavalry would have better achieved the stated thesis of the subtitle. In the same vein, while the diaries and letters that Levin employs are illuminative in content, she has neglected materials at the National Archives that could have made the explanation of Lee's military career more accurate. She frequently touts Lee as a general; in truth, he was never confirmed in that appointed rank by the Confederate Congress. By ignoring the Consolidated Correspondence files in the archives and relying on manuscript sources, Levin dwells more on Lee's social life in Canada than on his official duties. Since the purpose of the book is to tell us about Lee and his family during the war, Levin perhaps deemed these details unnecessary. But what might have been a useful research tool for scholars appears now as more of a social history. (For a more detailed, although somewhat speculative, account of Lee's activities with the Confederate secret service, see William Tidwell, with James O. Hall and David W. Gaddy, *Come Retribution: the Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* [Jackson and London: Mississippi University Press, 1988]).

Although members of the Lee family were Virginians, their proximity to the Potomac River makes this book a useful source for those seeking to discover what life on the Maryland-Virginia border was like for the wartime civilian population. Edwin Lee and his family, despite their aristocratic heritage, mirror the entire South as we see the destruction of an entire way of life occur during the course of the war. In that context, Edwin's illness and early death make a fitting ending to this sad story.

THOMAS G. CLEMENS  
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*Critical Essays on H. L. Mencken.* Edited by Douglas C. Stenerson. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987. Pp. ix, 214. Notes, index).

During his lifetime H. L. Mencken produced an estimated 8,000,000 words of copy and a minimum of 200,000 letters, and now in death it is Mencken's turn to watch as criticism of what he wrote accumulates in similar profusion. After an introductory section of three vignettes by George Jean Nathan, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, and Gerald W. Johnson, the thirty-two remaining essays in this collection are arranged in chronological order, from an anonymous review written in 1906 to essays written especially for this volume in the 1980s. All essays are by American writers, and more essays are from magazines than from newspapers.

Lamentably the credentials of the individual essayists are nowhere given. Thus when Harold Whitehall goes beyond Mencken's own observations in his 1946 essay "Linguistic Patriot" to theorize that American English functions "more morphologically" than British English, and that British English functions "more syntactically" than American English (p. 111), readers can learn nothing about the author from the text to help them judge the credibility of his theory.

Editor Douglas C. Stenerson's twenty-page introduction is a competent apologia for the work and summarizes the entire canon of Mencken criticism, including even those full-length biographies of Mencken which are not excerpted in his collection. Although the collection is provided with an index, it was not carefully prepared. Maryland, for example, is listed a mere three times when naturally an indication of "passim" would be more nearly accurate. Van Wyck Brooks's "Mencken in Baltimore" is of special interest to Maryland enthusiasts. Mencken cherished the "abiding relationships" of Baltimore—so sadly lacking in mammoth New York City—and loved the lares and penates of this "half-Southern" city (p. 114).

In the article contributed by the editor of the collection, "The 'Forgotten Man' of H. L. Mencken," Stenerson observes that Mencken's concept of the "Forgotten Man," the normal, unfrenzied, enlightened citizen of the middle majority, was close to representing a merger of the Baltimore burgher and the Tidewater planter. His strong provincial pride as a Baltimorean and a Marylander led him to interpret the colonial plantation society as idyllic; Chesapeake Bay lined with stately colonial mansions gave rise to a civilization, Mencken speculated in 1922, "that must have been even more charming than Virginia" (p. 140). But agrarian nostalgia notwithstanding, Mencken, who refused to ally himself with either political party of his time, claimed as his inheritance both the libertarianism of Jefferson and Hamilton's distrust of the masses. Despite his preference for an intellectual elite, he also insisted that an interference with the rights of any persons by an agency of government or by community mores was evil.

Writing in 1952, Brooks points out that Mencken made a poor literary critic because he lacked the "feminine traits" necessary for this pursuit. His more successful criticism was social, and it was a brute masculine force that he brought to bear against those elements in the society that impeded the expression of creativity. He spoke of poetry as a relic from the adolescence of mankind and made the distinction between prose as the language of truth and poetry as the language of lies. Yet Mencken himself dabbled in poetry, and this is explored in an essay written by Edward A. Martin, who credits Mencken's reading of Nietzsche as his inspiration to abandon verse as an embarrassing youthful affectation.

A more unusual essay is one by M. K. Singleton demonstrating that, despite Mencken's indifference to the realities of medieval history, he availed himself of a surprisingly large number of metaphors from the medieval period in order to satirize the uninquisitive and unthinking Dark Ages to which modern man seemed unconsciously to be reverting. In his essay, "This Hellawful South': Mencken and the Late Confederacy,"

Fred Hobson doubts that Mencken consciously sought to rouse Southern intellectuals from their lethargy by his "Sahara of the Bozart" essay, but agrees that he did become a conscious crusader for such a goal once certain Southerners praised his attack and promised to join his forces in a war of Southern liberation. A final essay by Charles Scruggs examines the role of Mencken in shaping the Harlem Renaissance.

Despite the consistently high quality of scholarship exhibited in this collection, the self-imposed constraints for inclusion make for some glaring omissions. The observations of Mencken's many biographers, including Guy J. Forgue, William Manchester, and Carl Bode are unrepresented. And certainly it would be enlightening in this context to examine how the fervently German-American Mencken was seen and critiqued by German intellectuals at different times before, during, between, and after the two world wars. Nevertheless it is an inestimable accomplishment to have so many essays assembled in a single volume at the very fingertips of Mencken admirers and students.

JACK SHREVE

*Allegany Community College*

*Toward a New Deal in Baltimore: People and Government in the Great Depression.* By Jo Ann E. Argersinger. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. xix, 284. Photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Jo Ann Argersinger describes the implementations of the New Deal in Baltimore as "an episode in the process of organizational growth" (p. xvii). The story she tells is how federal politicians and administrators, state and local officials, and a large array of local "pressure groups, protest groups, and community associations" (p. xviii) interacted as they all attempted to cope with the Great Depression.

In addressing the human costs of the Great Depression in Baltimore, New Dealers faced considerable obstacles—the most important of which was the conservatism of the city's Democratic party leaders, especially Howard Jackson, who served as mayor from 1931 to 1943. He and Baltimore's other leading Democrats, representing local business interests, were opposed to almost all New Deal measures and exploited the city's severe racial and ethnic tensions in order to block public relief, to keep all forms of public assistance temporary, and to challenge industrial unionism. Strengthening the hand of this conservative leadership was the aggressively anti-New Deal Baltimore *Sun* and the influential taxpayers' organizations that vigorously campaigned against higher taxes and promulgated individualistic, anti-statist ideals.

New Dealers by and large respected the strength of Baltimore's conservative forces and adhered to what Charles Trout has called "the localization of federal programs." (See *Boston, The Great Depression, and the New Deal* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], p. 315.) Applied to Baltimore, this approach meant that the New Deal failed to end Baltimore's systematic discrimination against blacks in public programs or its stringent rules for relief eligibility. In fact, tight-fisted, "pay-as-you-go" financing of relief became known during the 1930s as the "Baltimore Plan." Part of the reason for the New Deal's approach, Argersinger argues, was its fundamental ambiguity over whether or not it wanted "to reorganize society in a substantive fashion that would promote social solidarity, economic cooperation, and national unity." But, she adds, there was another problem: the New Deal's political conservatism. Even within its ambiguous, and ultimately restricted, economic and social vision, the New Deal overly narrowed its options. As Argersinger puts it, if the Roosevelt administration had "more successfully politicized its programs, exerted greater control in local appointments, and made more demands on the state and local governments, more of the jobless would have received assistance and

local politicians would have been less free to simultaneously denigrate and manipulate relief programs" (p. 216).

Nonetheless, the authority and resources of the New Deal did make a difference in Baltimore by energizing a variety of organized responses to the Great Depression crisis and to underlying problems of economic and social structure. In response to Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal leadership and a few creative New Deal administrators, new groups organized to "publicize particular issues, educate members of the communities themselves, and, on occasion, influence both local and national policy decisions" (p. xviii). The United States Housing Authority, created in 1937 by the Wagner-Steagall Act, stimulated neighborhood and tenant organizations, including the Citizens Housing Council and the Citizens' Planning and Housing Association. Other New Deal programs that encouraged community organization provided openings for the Peoples Unemployment League, a group that mobilized the unemployed across racial lines on behalf of liberalizing Baltimore's system of relief, enlarging state appropriations for relief, and expanding the scope of federal programs, particularly the Works Progress Administration. And, the passage of the Wagner Act and the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936 promoted "a sense of trade-union culture" (p. 176) and made local politicians more cautious in opposing the New Deal.

Argersinger's findings strongly suggest the need for a genuinely comprehensive evaluation of the New Deal's deference to Democratic localism across the nation and of the long-run effects of New Deal community organizing. These matters are necessarily beyond the scope of her book, but such evaluations are necessary before we can reject the possibility that the political conservatism described by Argersinger, however limited during the 1930s, was necessary to building a party organization that could, in the long run, protect the New Deal's reform accomplishments.

Over the last fifteen years, historical scholarship has advanced significantly our understanding of how the New Deal played out on the state and local level. Argersinger's meticulous research, ranging over the full range of local, state, and national archives and her sophisticated insights into urban politics have lifted this understanding to an even higher plane and, at the same time, pointed to new scholarly opportunities. She has written what is our best book on the effects of the New Deal on the organization of public life in a major city.

W. ELLIOT BROWNLEE

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

*Working the Water: The Commercial Fisheries of Maryland's Patuxent River.* Edited by Paula J. Johnson. (Charlottesville: Calvert Marine Museum and University Press of Virginia, 1988. Pp. xvii, 218. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

It is both a blessing and a curse that those who study Maryland waterways other than the Chesapeake Bay are often seen as chasers of smaller fish or footnoters to a more prominent estuary. The bay, and writing about the bay, have achieved a level of public awareness that many who labor among its tributaries or headwaters, including such notable and disparate writers as Gilbert Gude and John Barth, are often overlooked for having taken different routes in their investigations of maritime life and culture. The curse, then, is that good work about Maryland's "other" waterways faces a challenge for which those who write about the bay have been exempted—the obligation to establish the existence and importance of a relationship between economy, geography, and culture which is simply assumed for the Chesapeake at large.

The blessing is that good books like *Working the Water* can educate readers by providing not only information about lesser known areas of maritime life but also models for the

continuing study of regional lifeways connected to the water. *Working the Water* may, in fact, sneak up on the sinking standards of Chesapeake Bay studies by proving the value of detailed, interdisciplinary research. Certainly no book since William Warner's *Beautiful Swimmers* has attended so carefully to such a broad range of social, historical, and cultural matters.

*Working the Water* is a book about the Patuxent River, the people whose working lives are linked to it, and the industries that have historically connected it to the world beyond its banks. *Working the Water* does not offer a composed portrait of or a narrative story about its subject, but rather a carefully selected and edited series of complementary documents—photographs, drawings, recollections, anecdotes, and informed interpretive commentary. When pieced together in the reader's mind, these documents provide a previously unmatched sense of a place and how a dedicated folklorist and a museum can illuminate it.

The book is divided into two parts, the first consisting of three essays about the Patuxent fisheries and the people who have drawn their identities and livelihoods from them. Terry Sharrer's overview of a century's change on the Patuxent provides not only an historical outline for readers unfamiliar with the undulations of the oyster trade in southern Maryland, but also the junctures of agriculture, industrial expansion, and technological innovation which have successively shaped the region's economic character. George Carey's essay on Patuxent watermen looks to a dozen men who currently work the water for first-hand testimony about the way of life half-concealed by stereotype and mystique. Carey's description of the watermen and their circumstances jostles this persona, but pointedly avoids removing those aspects of it which are won through hardship and proudly worn. Paula Johnson's essay on Patuxent oyster shucking houses is the strongest of the three and provides the key to understanding and making best use of the information which follows. In a model of cross-disciplinary research, Johnson stitches together elements of expressive culture, economic history, social stratification, and oral testimony into an insightful reading of the Patuxent River packinghouse as a place, a social intersection, and a scene where the culture of the community and industry is enacted. Along the way some of the least understood aspects of oyster culture—the preferred ways of opening the bivalve and the folk music which has traditionally accompanied this craft—are expertly revealed and interpreted.

A catalog of artifacts from the Calvert Marine Museum's commercial fisheries collection comprises the largest segment of *Working the Water*. It describes the tools of the fishery's trade in detailed text and depicts them in historic and contemporary photographs, contemporary line drawings, and patent illustrations. This catalog is followed by an eight-page inventory listing the museum's complete collections of fishery gear and equipment.

The catalog is a unique and uniquely useful document, enabling the reader to determine the names and commercial use for objects from hand knives, tools, and arranged pound and gill nets to other common fishing gear, processing materials, and boats. Mixing historical and contemporary documentation with extended introductory essays and captions for each section of the catalog (fishing, soft-shell clamming, eeling, crabbing, oystering, and workboats) creates a resource for understanding the region's fisheries as well as the Calvert Marine Museum's collections.

The extensive notes include a great many quotations from oysterhouse workers, watermen, and other sources on local maritime culture as well as directions to further information on all of the book's subject areas. The prominence given throughout the book to the words of the people who have worked on the water and in the packinghouses is indicative of the commendable work Paula Johnson and the Calvert Marine Museum have done together over the past five years. The larger undertaking of which *Working the Water* is a document-in-progress includes identifying artifacts that express human values and

activities while using oral testimony to illuminate collected objects. The benefits of this complementary approach to folk cultural studies and the materials—aural, artifactual, and photographic—it generates are clearly evident in *Working the Water* and should serve as a model for other studies of maritime culture in Maryland and beyond.

CHARLES CAMP

Maryland State Arts Council

*American Passenger Arrival Records: A Guide to the Records of Immigrants Arriving at American Ports by Sail and Steam.* By Michael Tepper. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988. Pp. 134. \$18.95.)

Genealogy was in its infancy in the 1930s when Harold Lancour, librarian of the New York Public Library history division, thoughtfully provided a bibliography of ship passenger lists, 1538–1825, with 262 sources. For years this was the only way a researcher could find the data on emigrants to America. Several publishers decided to record the passengers in the Lancour sources and almost every month since have issued more names. By 1980 there was a bibliography listing over 1300 sources, and in 1988, 2,500 sources, so that almost three million names are now available.

Dr. Tepper sums it up thus: "In sheer volume these records are intimidating, their contents unwieldy, and difficult to use." He reduced the records to make them accessible and divided them into four segments: the colonial period, federal passenger arrival records, customs passenger lists, and immigration passenger lists, which include Canadian border entries. The appendices cover the Hamburg emigration lists, with an excellent checklist of passenger list publications, both important to researchers.

The author has examined laws which concern emigration, and the result is a guide to the records and archival sources that document the arrival of immigrants from the early 1600s to the Quota Acts three centuries later—a response to the arrival of more than two million immigrants from Europe in 1905 and 1907.

This comprehensive history of immigration is the only definitive study available and is essential in every library where history and genealogy collections are maintained.

P. WILLIAM FILBY

Savage, Maryland

*Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century.* Edited by Leon Litwack and August Meier. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Pp. ix, 321. Bibliographical essay, notes, index. \$24.95.)

*Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century* is a remarkable collection of essays which present the latest scholarship by some of the top scholars writing in the field of African-American history. Focusing on the triumphs and travails of seventeen black leaders, this book provides new insights into their accomplishments as well as the times in which they lived.

The volume includes pieces on Richard Allen, by Albert Raboteau; Nat Turner, by Peter H. Wood; Harriet Tubman, by Benjamin Quarles; Frederick Douglass, by Waldo E. Martin; Mary Ann Shadd, by Jason H. Silverman; John Mercer Langston, by William Cheek and Aimee Lee Cheek; Henry Highland Garnet, by Sterling Stuckey; Martin Delaney, by Nell Painter; Peter Humphries Clark, by David Gerber; Blanche K. Bruce, by Robert Brown Elliott; and Holland Thompson, by Howard N. Rabinowitz; Alexander Crummell, by Alfred Moss; Henry McNeal Turner, by John Dittmer; William Henry Steward, by George Wright; Isaiah T. Montgomery, by Janet Sharp Hermann; and Mary Church Terrell, by Sharon Harley. Additionally, Eric Foner examines "Black Reconstruction Leaders at the Grass Roots." For purposes of this review I will focus on the essays that

examine the lives and leadership of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and Henry Highland Garnet, three individuals with ties to Maryland.

Benjamin Quarles's essay entitled "Harriet Tubman's Unlikely Leadership" examines the reasons for Harriet Tubman's legendary status in both American and African-American history. According to Quarles, it was Tubman's traits of character and her methods of operation in spiriting slaves to freedom that help to explain her extraordinary record. Throughout the antebellum period "slaves and fugitives revered her, and free blacks held her in the highest esteem short of worship" (p. 49). William Still, second only to Harriet Tubman as the leading black figure in the Underground Railroad, commented in 1872 that "In point of courage and shrewdness . . . she was without equal. Her likes it is probable was never known before or since" (p. 49). In concluding his essay, Professor Quarles writes that "the Tubman theme would seem to be as enduring as the American theme, to which it is contributory and of which it is the essence" (p. 57).

In "Frederick Douglass: Humanist as Race Leader," Waldo Martin observes that "the central paradox of his leadership—and African-American leadership generally—consisted of the promotion of black integration into a nation dominated by whites who essentially despised and rejected black people" (p. x). While Professor Martin traces the changes in emphasis apparent in Douglass's position after his marriage to Helen Pitts in 1884, he points out that fiery determination still distinguished Douglass's race leadership. Martin argues effectively that the ability of Douglass to evoke the essential Americanness of blacks and their goals distinguished his leadership style and accounted for his preeminence.

Sterling Stuckey's thoughtful essay on Henry Highland Garnet completes the essays included in this review. Clearly one of the most determined leaders of the nineteenth century, Garnet formulated a distinctive position on emigration that eventually led to the African Civilization Society, which he founded. It was Garnet's vision and "ability to grasp the shape of things before they were palpable to others which gave him an edge as a thinker and leader" (p. 147). This quality, concludes Stuckey, enabled Garnet to know that blacks, in the clutches of land and labor monopolists following emancipation, would be laden with an uphill fight.

The essays in this volume are scholarly yet readable, and like its predecessor, *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, it will prove useful as a supplementary reader for persons interested in the experiences of nineteenth-century African-Americans.

BETTYE GARDNER  
Coppin State College

*The Brief Career of Eliza Poe.* By Geddeh Smith. (Rutherford, Madison, and Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988. Pp. 174. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.50.)

Eliza Poe spent fifteen of her twenty-four years singing, dancing, and acting on the American stage of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In that short life she performed at least 300 parts, from the silly ingenue in dozens of forgettable comedies to the tragic heroine in some of Shakespeare's most unforgettable plays. In fact, Eliza seemed to have lived someone else's life as much as she lived her own, which may explain why this survey of her life and career is a disappointment.

Written by Geddeh Smith, a professional actor himself, *The Brief Career of Eliza Poe* attempts to make the life of the actress seem as dramatic as some of the characters she played. But so little is known about Eliza Poe, the person (she left only one personal document), that the resulting portrait reads more like a travelogue than it does a biography.

Not that Smith is entirely to blame. He does a creditable job assembling playbills,



critical notices, and contemporary accounts into a lean, lucid narrative. But plotting an actress's life from one theatre to the next without insight into her mind and personality quickly grows tedious.

Instead of detailed biography, Smith gives us detailed descriptions of the cities and theatres where Eliza performed (including the Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore), summaries of her plays and characters, and sketches of the various actors and managers she worked with. Often these descriptions are much too mundane: "Eliza found that the carriages [in Charleston] moved more slowly than they had in New York or Boston, and they even made less noise in the narrow, sandy streets" (p. 38). If it weren't for such details of time and place, this slim biography would have been much slimmer indeed.

Although written for the theatrical history buff, the readers most interested in this book may be those who study the life and works of Eliza's famous son Edgar Allan Poe (who was just shy of three years old when Eliza died). In this respect, Smith's book is a welcome addition to any Poe scholar's library. It provides a more complete listing of Eliza's performances than had been previously published, sheds a new light on a few problems of chronology, and even changes Eliza's name. Up to now, Smith claims, Poe biographers have been incorrect in calling her *Elizabeth*. Suffice it to say, this topic invites much more research and debate among Poe scholars.

For the general reader, however, there is little in *The Brief Career of Eliza Poe* to recommend. Considering that she never attained any great level of popular fame or professional influence, Eliza Poe hardly seems a subject worthy of study. It's obvious that had she not been the mother of the famous, controversial, and always mysterious Edgar Allan Poe, few people would have heard of Eliza Poe at all.

CHRISTOPHER SCHARPF

*Executive Committee,*

*Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore*

*Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900.* By Bernard L. Herman. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987. Pp. xiii, 273. Illustrations, glossary, notes, index. \$27.95.)

This book is as comprehensive a historical study of vernacular architecture in a given locality as is possible. Based on a systematic, well-organized, methodologically sophisticated survey of buildings and documents, the study describes and analyzes the vernacular houses, barns, and outbuildings of southern New Castle County, Delaware. Illustrations of construction technology, plans, and photographs show vividly how people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries fashioned buildings with their hands.

The book's main argument is that from 1700 to 1900, several building cycles reflected deep-seated cultural change, especially the shift to capitalist agriculture and a more stratified society. From about 1700 to 1820, permanent, durable houses appeared, erected by a landed elite ambitious to gain an estate. Houses increasingly incorporated passages, in contrast to the earlier pattern in which living space was entered directly. Symmetry was also more common, and fashionable stylistic detail underscored the aspiration of wealthy builders for "social separation over customary interaction" (p. 41). Over 80 percent of these rural dwellings separated the kitchen from the house proper. Most farmhouses had a half-dozen outbuildings. From about 1800 to 1860, the landed elite, now agricultural capitalists bent on increasing their incomes by exploiting transportation to markets, incorporated kitchens into the house and added specialized domestic spaces. Large barns were intended to centralize storage and livestock feeding. This burst of building activity, Herman argues, reflected the managerial farmer's reforming concern with order. Yet intentions outstripped actual practice, for barns were underutilized.

This book is a model of material-culture study, making intelligent use of material data to yield insights about culture. Herman turns the study of agricultural history on its head by suggesting that many of the ideas expressed in the supposedly innovative agricultural journals were codifications of long-existing practice. He also effectively treats non-domestic buildings, partly through the idea of landscape. Though ultimately this information might be more fully incorporated into a comprehensive analysis of farming systems, its presentation is a huge first step.

The book also raises two major questions. Both concern the social origins of architectural change and do not reduce the book's importance, which is considerable. In describing the first building phase, Herman convincingly argues that passageways and style expressed "exclusivity." But it is not clear what social structures and ideas "exclusivity" replaced. "Custom" is not explicitly explained, but it is implicitly characterized as somehow more egalitarian than the system of relationships that replaced it. Yet in Anglo-American society, a clear social hierarchy was present in most regions by the late seventeenth century. Did the new spaces signal a new social structure in Delaware or new attitudes about an older one?

A puzzling omission in the second building phase is that the crucial incorporation of the kitchen into the house's interior space is not considered as a problem in women's history. The explanation tendered—that an "inversion had taken place in which household functions were spatially unified but conceptually separated—is only partially convincing. It seems more likely that reformulations of gender were involved. Did the shift represent the integration of women into the mainstream of elite life? Or in relinquishing their separate kitchens did women also forego some autonomy? If elite women managed kitchen help, what implications did moving the kitchen hold?

*Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware* will be of interest to students of American material culture and of Maryland history, since it concerns historical developments on the Delmarva peninsula. Its documentation of vernacular architecture is exemplary, while its interpretation should stimulate future researchers to continue the work of establishing the ties between building and cultural context.

SALLY McMURRY  
*Penn State University*

## Perspectives on State History: Race, Class, and Political Culture in Post-1945 Alabama A Review Essay

*Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama.* By Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. Pp. xvii, 307. Illustrations, maps, graphs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

*The Little Man's Big Friend: James E. Folsom in Alabama Politics, 1946-1959.* By George E. Sims (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985. Pp. x, 271. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.50.)

James E. Folsom, twice governor of Alabama (1947-1951 and 1955-1959), is an extraordinarily complicated man: naive idealist, populist reformer, racial liberal, canny manipulator, loutish drunkard, venal spoilsman. Few people have done as much to shape Alabama's modern political style; no one has done more.

A reader who is not acquainted with the extent to which the history that scholars write is formed by their historiographical outlook would find the reading of these two biographies of Folsom a startling experience. The man who is their subject is the same. The events they recount are largely the same. But the place where the drama is played out seems not to be the same one at all. The reason for this peculiar circumstance is that the authors understand the political culture within which their characters move in very different ways.

George Sims, a historian, bases his portrait of the political culture upon the ideas advanced by the political scientist, V. O. Key, who in his distinguished study *Southern Politics* (1949) acknowledged divisions in Alabama between the conservative, planter-led Black Belt and the more populist, poor-white hill counties and Wiregrass. But these divisions, he argued, failed to express themselves consistently or clearly in political life. Alabama politics was dominated, rather, by localism, by what he called "the friends-and-neighbors vote." Writing during the first Folsom administration, Key emphasized that Folsom, like all gubernatorial candidates before him, had based his electoral majority on heavy support in the counties of his birth and residence. For Key, Alabama politics was not an epic struggle between fundamentally dissimilar sections of the state. It was, instead, a constant, painstaking process of building alliances out of friendships, personal relations, and the support of other local leaders who controlled their own groups of friends.

Sims's case for Folsom's significance rests upon this conception of the state's political life. Sims argues that Alabama's electorate was characterized by "social and cultural homogeneity" (p. 3). State politics was confined by "pervasive localism" (p. 1), and "political relationships within the counties were dominated by the stable, controlling influence of 'courthouse rings'" (p. 2). A candidate conducted a statewide campaign by knitting these rings together into an organization. In 1946, however, when Folsom was first elected governor, urbanization, agricultural mechanization, rural electrification, and the experience of World War II left Alabama's voters on the verge of being integrated into the mass culture of the nation. These developments both frightened Alabamians, who clung to their localistic values, and at the same time ineluctably drew them into modernity. Folsom's political success rested upon his ability to use both the effects of the new age and the fears that it generated. His campaigns bypassed local leaders to appeal to individual voters, in the process undermining the authority of the courthouse rings. But his appeal rested upon the manipulation of the need for reassurance felt by rural Alabamians "reeling from the

impact of events beyond their control"; Folsom portrayed himself as a friend and neighbor who would seek "to protect the interests of ordinary citizens" (p. 22). Thus at the core of Folsom's career lies a profound irony. His campaigns relied on "democratic nostalgia" but at the same time "unwittingly prepared voters for the time when state and national candidates could use mass communication techniques and appeal directly to the voters' sentiments and prejudices" (p. 22).

Sims is not unaware of the sectional rivalries in Alabama, of course. "Even though the dynamics of local political leadership remained essentially the same from county to county," he tells us, yet "each section made slightly different demands on the state government" (p. 10). And when he turns to a detailed analysis of conflicts in the state legislature, he repeatedly refers to the Black Belt bloc, its conservative alliance with urban Jefferson County, and Folsom's support among north Alabama hill county representatives. But like V. O. Key, Sims wishes to minimize the political significance of these elements of economic and social conflict.

If the historian Sims has fallen under the spell of the political scientist Key, then Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff, husband and wife political scientists, subscribe to the viewpoint associated with the historian C. Vann Woodward. In his powerful survey *Origins of the New South* (1951)—written, as was Key's *Southern Politics*, during the first Folsom administration—Woodward saw reflected in Southern political controversies of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries profound economic and social divisions. He conceded that politics too seldom was successful in expressing the full dimensions of these cleavages, but he saw the cleavages as surrounding and shaping the political contests nevertheless.

Grafton and Permaloff carry this thesis almost to a preposterous extreme. Especially in the third chapter of their book, they create a portrait of political life in twentieth-century Alabama in which political conflict does not merely reflect the divisions between rich and poor citizens and sections, but in which the rich citizens and sections are the virtual dictators of the state, effectively holding all power in their hands. An alliance of Black Belt planters and Jefferson County industrialists, they tell us, ruled the legislature and bought victory in elections. In the first half of this century, only three governors—Braxton B. Comer, Thomas E. Kilby, and Bibb Graves—were not their tools, and even these three confined their reforms to matters that "did not touch the central structures of power in the state" (p. 50).

Like Sims, Grafton and Permaloff deduce a case for Folsom's significance from their description of the political culture in which he acted. Alone among Alabama's twentieth-century leaders, they say, Folsom set out to challenge the true structural bases of the elite's power: segregation, Negro disfranchisement, malapportionment of the legislature, conservative control of the Democratic party. In the short term the elite completely defeated Folsom's efforts, but in the longer term, they conclude, he "mobilized the forces of change already developing in the system due to the Depression and World War II," and instructed the masses of Alabamians "on the fundamental changes in the political system that had to occur before they could participate fully in their own governance" (p. 263).

We do not need to search very far for the source of Grafton and Permaloff's portrait of an Alabama dominated by a self-seeking elite and riven by class conflict. It is Folsom's own. Grafton and Permaloff have taken the demagogic antagonism of Folsom's stump speeches, dressed it in scholarly garb and introduced it as serious social analysis. It does not stand up very well against Sims's sober and sophisticated judgments.

If Folsom was truly an enemy of segregation, we must account for his quite ambiguous and vacillating approach to the question; his repeated statements at the time that he did not seek integration; his flight from responsibility in the Autherine Lucy affair; the support he received and welcomed from Horace Wilkinson, the former Klansman and Dixie-

crat, and E. C. "Bud" Boswell, author of the disfranchising Boswell Amendment. Sims's conclusion that Folsom, though far more fully committed to racial justice than any other important Alabama politician, nevertheless lacked any vision of a genuinely integrated society, seems the more persuasive one. Grafton and Permaloff themselves show that Folsom failed in most counties to appoint voting registrars who were willing to register any substantial number of black applicants; on this point they are sounder than Sims but thus draw into question their contention that Folsom was an unqualified enemy of disfranchisement. Folsom's principal initiative in this area, the effort to repeal the poll tax, would primarily have benefited poor whites, since the literacy test would have remained to bar blacks. If Folsom actually favored legislative reapportionment on the basis of population, we must account for the fact that all of the various reapportionment amendments that Folsom urged would have transformed the senate into a body based on geography, with one senator from each county. Folsom's aim—though this is a point which neither book makes—was never to shift legislative power from the Black Belt planters to the urban centers, as a thorough reapportionment by population would have done, but to shift legislative power from Black Belt planters to hill county white farmers, the group that would have permanently controlled a geographically based Senate. Finally, the real structural support for elitism in the area of partisan activity was not conservative control of the Democratic party, but the one-party system itself. And yet at all times Folsom's loyalty to the Democratic party was absolute; no one was more hostile to the tentative stirrings of Republicanism than he. It is, in short, hard to sustain the case that Folsom had correctly diagnosed the structural foundations of elitism in Alabama and had set out to demolish them.

Although Grafton and Permaloff have grossly overstated their case, there are elements of truth in their class conflict analysis which Sims's modernization analysis tends to obscure. Folsom was pushing, if unsteadily and blindly, upon pillars that supported a vast temple, and the reaction to his efforts in the legislature indicates that it was so. Sims's descriptions of the battles in the legislature during Folsom's two terms drags him, though obviously reluctantly, to recognize the importance of the Black Belt bloc. He tries to portray the conflict as one between a politically independent governor and a legislature staffed by local leaders. But the evidence is too often against him. "The legislature comprised 149 [actually, 141] local politicians, like the community leaders Big Jim circumvented in his election campaign." But he concedes, "Chief among them were the representatives and senators of the Black Belt counties, whose influence depended on the poll tax, legislative malapportionment, and the unrevised state constitution" (p. 51). He says that the legislators would have accepted much of Folsom's program had it not been for Folsom's maledroit handling of his relations with them (p. 41). But he is referring to those portions of Folsom's program that were typical of other progressives: roads, schools, welfare benefits. As to Folsom's desire for structural reforms, Sims is compelled to admit, "The Black Belt planters, and their 'Big Mule' allies, dominated the Alabama Legislature," and were intransigently opposed to all "efforts to repeal the poll tax, reapportion the legislature, rewrite the state constitution, and reform the tax structure. They even frowned on new state services that threatened to increase taxes" (pp. 46–47). Given Sims's central thesis, this is no small concession.

The plain fact is that Sims's understanding of Alabama's political culture as defined by localism, like V. O. Key's before it, is an understanding derived from the study of elections; it fails when confronted with the realities of legislative behavior. Grafton and Permaloff, too, acknowledge the existence of the "friends-and-neighbors effect" in the Democratic primaries (pp. 25–26). But just as Sims emphasizes elections and tries to explain the legislature in terms derived from electoral politics, so Grafton and Permaloff emphasize the legislature and tend to dismiss elections as less significant; the elite, they reason, could

use its power to buy the electoral outcome it sought, at least until the advent of Folsom. In making this claim, Grafton and Permaloff reveal a failure to appreciate the complexity of the political relationships established by the Alabama constitution of 1901. On this point, Sims's account offers a clue.

Whereas Grafton and Permaloff portray Folsom's encounters with the legislature as a complete conservative victory, especially in the first term, Sims correctly describes the outcome as a stalemate. Grafton and Permaloff are willing to count only the enactment of one of Folsom's proposals for structural reform as a genuine success. But Sims notes the important but less far-reaching pieces of legislation the administration obtained, such as increased old-age pensions, increased teachers' salaries, a bond issue for highway construction. He records the many things Folsom was able to accomplish without any legislation, simply through his control of the state bureaucracy and his power to appoint members of various boards and commissions. And he also makes the highly significant point that, though the Black Belters were able to kill Folsom's structural reforms, administration adherents in the legislature were able to filibuster to death almost all of the Black Belters' own substantive legislation. Folsom then vetoed the rest. The result, as Sims says, was a stand-off.

What Sims, Grafton, and Permaloff seem not to know is that this relation between the executive and the legislature was the usual one in twentieth-century Alabama. The three governors whom Grafton and Permaloff are willing to classify as progressives—Comer, Kilby, and Graves—found themselves in a constant stalemate with their legislatures, despite their accomplishments. And the point is even more general. Though other governors may not have been the most liberal of the candidates in the field, they were uniformly more liberal than was the leadership of the legislature; the very act of seeking statewide office almost forced them into embracing new proposals for state activities and services. Thus B. Meek Miller, a conservative, drove the state's first income tax through the legislature over determined opposition. Frank Dixon, a conservative, induced the legislature to enact civil service reform. Chauncey Sparks, a conservative, inaugurated the farm-to-market road program. And Gordon Persons, whose term intervened between Folsom's two, actually obtained a version of one of Folsom's cherished structural reforms when he succeeded in amending the constitution to limit the accumulation of the poll tax to two years, or a modest three dollars. In each of these cases the legislature grudgingly enacted the governor's most prized legislative goal but took its vengeance on other parts of his program. He in turn was able to kill other, unacceptably conservative proposals sought by some legislative leaders. Both Sims and Grafton-Permaloff have sought to depict Folsom's administrations as a turning point in the history of the state. But, at least in the pattern of executive-legislative relations that characterized his terms, Folsom was actually a part of a long-standing tradition.

What is the source of this remarkable continuity? It is here, for all their exaggeration of the thesis, that Grafton and Permaloff approach closer to the truth than does Sims, I think. The source, surely is the constitution of 1901 and the system of power relationships it established. The very heart of the constitutional settlement was the conscious creation of a social stalemate, the erection of a network of governmental vetoes for all the various elements of the electorate—a network made acceptable to its architects by the exclusion from the electorate of the most threatening elements in the population, blacks and the poorest whites. The Black Belt conservatives who were largely responsible for drafting the constitution by it abandoned the possibility of exercising positive power in return for the possession of negative power, the guarantee that they could defend their social position from all assaults of their enemies. Grafton and Permaloff are right, of course, that this arrangement left the Black Belt planters and their industrialist allies with the advantage, since the social position they were defending was a very prominent one. But Grafton and

Permaloff are wrong in asserting that the planters and industrialists held total power. Many other elements of society participated in the stalemate; every politically active element possessed the possibility of maneuvering a few of its most deeply desired objectives into the statute books. Because Alabama's governors stood almost inevitably to the left of the Black Belt legislative leadership, as the decades passed Alabama's government drifted slowly to the left. But the constitutional settlement prevented any precipitous movement in that or any other direction. Because a candidate for statewide office could actually deliver very little of what he promised, acquaintance and the desire for patronage generally determined adherence to his cause, and the "friends-and-neighbors vote" emerged. But on the floor of the legislature the collisions always unmistakably reflected the society's deep divisions.

Like all of the state's twentieth-century governors, Folsom operated necessarily within this system. He did, indeed, attack its foundations more directly than his predecessors had. But he did not ever clearly understand how pervasive it was, and how intricately designed. He obtained many of the things he sought; it seemed to him that he was winning the battle. In the end he even obtained the submission to the voters of a form of legislative reapportionment, the most threatening of all of his proposals to the constitutional settlement. That the voters defeated this constitutional amendment was not attributable to opposition in the Black Belt but to opposition in the cities, whose residents rejected Folsom's desire for a senate based on geography. Once again the social stalemate had triumphed. Folsom and all Alabamians were captured within it more fully than they knew.

Each of these biographies is interesting; it would be difficult to write something about Big Jim Folsom which was not. Sims's is much the sounder volume, more thoroughly researched and factually more reliable. Sims goes astray occasionally, as in his certainly erroneous assertion that Folsom urged Martin Luther King during the Montgomery bus boycott to attack the validity of the bus segregation laws. But for the most part, he gives us a lucid, detailed, and instructive account of events. For the person who will read only one of these books, his is the preferable choice. Grafton and Permaloff have relied to a much greater extent on interviews with the participants, and have therefore too often been led into chronological confusion and questionable claims. Their narrative is sometimes misleading. On the other hand, they display a much shrewder insight into Folsom's psychology and character than does Sims and include a fuller history of Folsom's early life. In addition, as I have said, to my mind they came closer to understanding the true nature of the state's political culture. On the complex operation of that culture, however, and on Folsom's place within it, more certainly remains to be written.

J. MILLS THORNTON III  
*University of Michigan*



## Books Received

Frederick Tilp's longstanding interest in regional history produced books on the Potomac and Chesapeake, many magazine articles, and a fat file of interesting material that he saved for *Chesapeake Fact, Fiction and Fun*. This paperbound volume includes anecdotes and sidelights on boats, industry, farming, warfare, architecture, recreation, religion, cooking, black history, humor, marine life, notable storms, and more. Tilp ranges freely over the lovely territory between Port Deposit and Portsmouth; a conscientious oral historian, he also provides his readers with a 14,000-word glossary of words and phrases that grew up as people worked land and water (and may now be disappearing). Tilp has left us a treasury that lovers of the bay and its environs will want to read and refer to.

Heritage Books, \$12.50

In 1896 the Maryland General Assembly passed a bill providing for the completion of the records of the soldiers, sailors and marines from Maryland in the late Civil War. L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and George W. F. Vernon were appointed commissioners to arrange for the incomplete muster rolls to be completed and for the eventual publication of what became the two volume *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5*. Originally printed in 1898 the work has been reprinted by Family Line Publications in conjunction with Toomey Press. Volume I, consisting of 834 pages, contains the histories of the individual regiments in the Union Army, followed by muster rolls of the various companies. Names of commissioned officers are followed by those of the enlisted men. In each category, rank, dates of enlistment and mustering out are given as well as comments as to transfer of individuals, death in battle, or having been captured. Volume II, 285 pages, contains information on the sailors, marines and members of Colored Troops serving from Maryland. The lack of an index is partly negated by the arrangement of the muster rolls, in which the names are listed alphabetically in each company. Despite the lack of an index, the reprinting of this work will be hailed by Civil War buffs and genealogists alike.

Family Line Publications, \$75.00

It has often been found that more Americans write books about British records than do the Britishers, and *Genealogical Resources in English Repositories* by Joy Wade Moulton is a perfect example. Someone in England should have compiled this book, but instead, Joy Moulton from Columbus, Ohio, has produced quite the best guide to the genealogical resources in England. So often the word "genealogical" strikes terror in the breasts of librarians of historical collections, but in their ignorance they cannot understand that the work under review is just as useful for historians. When does the library open; whom should I write when I want to research; what does the library contain; and are the collections available? Where is the repository? Very good guides and maps are available. Not one item is missing from the description of each repository. Each county is treated completely and London is particularly well served. Anyone wishing to research in England, by mail or in person, cannot work without this compilation, and it is highly recommended for any historian and any library.

Hampton House, \$32.00

Several guides have been published to the holdings of the National Archives in Washington, D.C., but now Loretto Dennis Szucs and Sandra Hargreaves Luebking have compiled *The Archives: A Guide to the National Archives Field Branches*. There are three sections in the book. The first deals with the individual National Archives Field Branches—their locations, hours of service, and holdings found there not found at other branches. The branch serving Maryland is in Philadelphia, and contains among other items, the Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for Maryland for 1862-1866 and Minutes of the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Maryland, 1790-1911. The second section of the book deals with textual and microfilm holdings common to all field branches. The third section discusses the scores of record groups held by the National Archives, and what records may be found for a particular record group (or federal agency) at each of the branches. (Philadelphia does not appear to have any of the records of the Fish and Wildlife Service, but other branches have a great many records). Genealogists and other historians will find this a most useful book to have.

Ancestry Publishing, \$27.95

Genealogists know that the largest single collection of source materials for family history are to be found in the collections of the Family History Library in Salt Lake City. Many of these materials have been microfilmed and can be borrowed for use at the many branch Family History Center Libraries around the country. In *The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library*, edited by Johni Cerny and Wendy Elliott, researchers now have a concise guide to just what records are at Salt Lake City, and which ones can be accessed at the local branch libraries. The book contains chapters dealing with the services of the Family History Library and covers geographic regions of the United States and abroad. It is possible to find out what vital records are on microfilm for any state in the Union, and what records have been microfilmed for overseas areas. There are also numerous summary charts showing what types of records are available for each province, county, or other subdivision of a given country. Libraries and individual researchers will want to have this volume.

Ancestry Publishing, \$32.95

# News and Notices

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY CALENDAR OF EVENTS

A Maryland Day Seminar is set for 25 March 1989 in the auditorium of the society from 9 A.M.—4 P.M. The public opening for the American Society of Marine Artists exhibit will be held 31 March 1989, with the exhibit running 1 April—19 August 1989.

### NEW ESSAY PRIZES

The Maryland Historical Society plans soon to announce details of two new essay prizes. The Education Committee will offer one of them to reward those undergraduate college and university students who conduct original research in the vast collections of the MdHS. Another prize, to be made by the Maritime Committee, will recognize the most distinguished recent essay exploring Maryland's maritime heritage. The Maritime Committee tentatively plans to call for papers in the early fall of 1989, with the judging and awards being announced in the early spring of 1990. Those persons interested should watch this column for further notice.

### CONFERENCE ON MARYLAND

The second Conference on Maryland, entitled *Developing Cultural Expressions*, will be held at Frostburg State University 14–15 April 1989. The conference will include sixteen sessions, many running concurrently, four performances, and a concert by Ethel Ennis. Aimed at examining the evolution and current state of the popular arts and cultural expressions in Maryland, these multi-disciplinary sessions will focus on religious influences, literature, folklore, folk dance, theater, blues and jazz music, material culture, baseball, important Maryland artists, suburban development, working-class values, and many other topics. For a complete list and more information about the conference, write John Wiseman (History) or Frank Parks (English), Frostburg State University, Frostburg, Maryland 21532.

### AUDIO-VISUAL CONFERENCE

The XIII International Congress of the International Association for Audio-Visual Media in Historical Research and Education, the first ever to be held in the United States, will meet at Frostburg State University 26–31 July 1989. The conference theme is "History on Television." Speakers include James Billington, the Librarian of Congress; Marc Ferro, director of IMSECO, Paris; Nicholas Pronay, director of the Institute of Communication Studies, University of Leeds; Daniel Leab, editor of *Labor History*; Gabor Boritt, Fluhrer Professor of Civil War Studies, Gettysburg; Sergei Drobashenko, head, Film Study Department, VGIK, Moscow; and a unique presentation with filmclips, by Walter Frentz, Ueberlingen, West Germany, cameraman for Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* and the Marathon Sequence in *The Olympiade*. For more information about the conference, write John Wiseman, History Department, Frostburg State University, Frostburg, Maryland 21532.

### HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLISHES LIBRARY GUIDE

The Historical Society of Carroll County, in order to assist researchers in using its facility, has published a new guide to the library collection, housed in the society's headquarters at 210 E. Main Street, Westminster. The free guide includes a description of the

library's extensive holdings of family histories, books and periodicals, manuscripts, newspapers, and land records. The guide also includes helpful suggestions for doing genealogical research, a diagram of the library, and instructions for using the Tracey Collection of land records from early western Maryland counties (Carroll, Baltimore, Frederick and Washington). Copies are available at the society or by calling 301/848-6494.

#### CUSHWA CENTER OFFERS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism invites applications for its Research Fellowship Program, which provides an office and access to libraries and archives at the University of Notre Dame for scholars studying any aspect of American Catholicism. Apply to the Cushwa Center, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. Deadlines are 15 January and 15 April 1989.

#### AFRO-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY CONFERENCE

The twelfth annual conference of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society will be held 6-8 April 1989 at the Holiday Inn-Capitol, 550 C Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. The theme for this conference will be "History as Genealogy; Genealogy as History." Sessions will include papers by historians and laypersons focusing on local histories, research techniques, and topics of special interest to educators who wish to incorporate African-American culture into the curriculum. The first day of the conference will be devoted to workshops for the beginner as well as those more experienced in research with primary sources. For further information on the conference or membership write AAGHS Conference Planning Committee, P.O. Box 73086, Washington, D.C. 20056-3086.

#### PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD RECORDS COLLECTION OPEN FOR RESEARCH

The Hagley Museum and Library has opened the records of this 1,600 linear-foot collection which include minutes, board files and other corporate records of the Pennsylvania Railroad proper (1846-1968) and 400 of its predecessor and subsidiary firms (1810-1968). These records constitute a major resource for the study of railroad corporate strategy, technology, labor relations and operating practices. For further information contact Manuscripts and Archives Department, Hagley Museum and Library. P.O. Box 3630, Greenville, Delaware 19807, 302/658-2400, ext. 330.

#### PASSENGER LISTS OF ELLIS ISLAND ARRIVALS, 1892-1954

From 1892 until 1954 most immigrants to America were processed at Ellis Island, New York City. During that time no fewer than sixteen million immigrants passed through the Island, and the records are preserved in the National Archives, Washington, D.C. But unless the person needing information knows the name of the ship and the date of arrival, it is almost impossible to trace the immigrant.

At the present time the buildings on Ellis Island are being refurbished and in some months' time they will look exactly as they were during the time of arrival of the immigrants. But this is only part of the story. Genealogists and family searchers want access to the actual arrival records, and so the Ellis Island Restoration Commission has been formed to make these records available. It is intended to computerize the passenger lists so that any name will be immediately available. Information differs from list to list, but the full name, age, port of embarkation, and arrival are stated, and since the family was treated together, those travelling with parents will be readily seen. Other information such as place of birth and last residence may be stated.

The commission under Philip Lax, president, includes P. William Filby, former director of the Maryland Historical Society and the compiler of several books on immigra-

tion, Dr. Ira A. Glazier, director, Temple Balch Center for Immigration Research, Elder Richard G. Scott, president, Utah Genealogical Society, Rabbi Malcolm Stern, president, Jewish Historical Society of New York, and James Dent Walker, formerly of the National Archives and now associate director, Charles Sumner School Museum Archives, Washington.

Work on transcribing the lists will start almost immediately and we have set 1992 for the completion of the project, when anyone visiting Ellis Island will be able to find their family by using the computers. It is also considered possible that the computer tapes will be made available to other locations throughout America.

But all of this work will be costly, and the rate of progress will depend entirely on money available to forward the work. Donations are therefore urgently needed, and they should be sent to Ellis Island Restoration Commission, Federal Hall, 26 Wall Street, New York, New York 10005, 212/264-4451. Donations are tax deductible.

#### GEORGIA ARCHIVES INSTITUTE OFFERS INSTRUCTION

The Twenty-Third Annual Georgia Archives Institute will offer an introduction to archival administration seminar 12-23 June 1989. Designed for beginning archivists, librarians, and manuscript curators, the seminar will offer general instruction in basic concepts and practices of archival administration and management of traditional and modern documentary materials. Tuition is \$375.00. Enrollment is limited. Participants needing housing should so note on their application and information will be provided. For more information and application write A. V. Lawson, School of Library and Information Studies, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia 30314. Deadline for receipt of application and resume is 1 April 1989.

#### DESCENDANTS OF CONSTITUTION SIGNERS ORGANIZE

The Society of the Descendants of the Signers of the Constitution was organized following the bicentennial celebration of the U.S. Constitution in 1987. Full membership in the society is limited to any lineal or collateral descendant of a signer of the Constitution, twenty-one years of age or over and possessing good moral character. Annual dues are \$35.00 and a life membership is \$250.00. Those wishing to participate further in the Descendants of the Signers of the Constitution contact William Blout Stewart, 4000 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

#### EXHIBITS AT THE DELAWARE ART MUSEUM

A selection of small bronzes and plaster reliefs of historical subjects such as Sheridan's Ride, Paul Revere, and a study for the Caesar Rodney by James Edward Kelly (1855-1933) will be on display 3 March-23 April 1989. Photographs which examine the various relationships of mothers and daughters can be seen 17 March-30 April 1989. Exhibited for the first time, 17 March-30 April 1989, will be cast bronze sculptures of figures in a crowd by Tom Bostelle (b. 1921). Then, recent paintings by John Thornton who teaches at the Art Institute of Philadelphia will be shown 28 April-25 June 1989. *Fantasies, Fables & Fabrications: Photo Works of the 1980s*, an exhibition that explores current trends in photography, can be seen 13 May-2 July 1989.

#### GRAVESTONE STUDIES CONFERENCE AND MEETING

The Association for Gravestone Studies will hold its annual conference at the Governor Dummer Academy in Byfield, Massachusetts, 22-25 June 1989. Featured will be tours of Essex County's early burying grounds, workshops, demonstrations, and lectures. For

more information contact Michael Cornish, Conference Chair, 199 Boston Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02125, 617/282-3853.

#### CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL LIBRARY AWARDS

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society will present the Historical Research and Writing Award, the Jefferson Davis Award, and the Founders Award for 1988 at The Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, 3 June 1989. For further information contact Guy R. Swanson, The Museum of the Confederacy, 1201 East Clay Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219, 804/649-1861.

#### GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION SOUGHT

Seeking genealogical information concerning Harriet (Jones) White, a black woman born in Maryland in 1859 and who died 27 January 1899 in Dames Quarter, Maryland. Daughter of Alfred and Martha Jones. Married Charles White ca. 1879. If you have any information please contact SK2 Charmaine C. White, CFAY Supply Box 40, Code 430, FPO Seattle, Washington 98762-1100.

#### HOPKINS CENTENNIAL TO MARK REVOLUTION IN MODERN MEDICINE

In the spring of 1989 Johns Hopkins Hospital celebrates the one-hundredth anniversary of its founding, an event that also will call attention to the first century of modern American medical education and health care. A small ceremony under the dome of the original hospital on 7 May will commemorate its opening in 1889; planned events at the Baltimore Convention Center during the week of 7-11 June include scientific symposia, concerts, an exhibit of masterpieces of medical art, and the first appearance of a postage stamp honoring the hospital's founder, Baltimore merchant-investor Johns Hopkins. For details, call the office of public affairs (301) 955-6680.

#### MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

The 52nd annual Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage will be conducted from 22 April-7 May 1989. In addition to the traditional offering of fine individual houses and gardens the eight tours will include five unique and historically significant small Maryland towns. Beginning in Anne Arundel County the tour will move to Charles County on 23 April, Cecil County on 28 April, Kent County on 29 April, Oxford on 30 April, Frederick County on 5 May, Washington County on 6 May, and Dickeyville on 7 May. Tickets for each tour are \$12.00 or \$4.00 for a single house. All tickets will be available at Pilgrimage Headquarters or may be purchased at the first house visited. Please specify dates desired as separate tickets are printed for each day. Gift certificates for one day's tour will be available at \$12.00 from the headquarters. For further information please write or call Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, 1105-A Providence Road, Towson, Maryland 21204, 301/821-6933.

## Maryland Picture Puzzle

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore scene. What street is this? When do you think this photograph was taken?

The Winter 1988 Picture Puzzle depicts a scene in Salisbury, Wicomico County, sometime between 1927 and 1932. The photograph was taken looking east on Main Street toward Division Street. The Wicomico Hotel appears in the distance on the right.

The following people correctly identified the Fall 1988 puzzle: Mr. Wayne R. Schaumberg; Mr. Brad Schlegel; Regina and Richard Stein; General John Knight Waters, USA, Ret.; Mr. Howard E. Elliott, Jr.; Mr. Barry Cheslock; Mr. John Riggs Orrick; and Mr. E. Henry Hinrichs.

Please send your response to:

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The editors welcome contributions that broaden knowledge and deepen understanding of Maryland history. The *MdHM* enjoys one of the largest readerships of any state historical magazine and has developed strong ties to the scholarly community. It aims to combine professional and "popular" history—to engage that broad audience while publishing the latest scholarly research on Maryland. Thus we especially solicit pieces that raise good questions, build on newly discovered or re-studied evidence, and make one's findings interesting and readable. We invite amateur historians to consider and make clear the significance of their essays and remind scholars that they address not specialists alone but a wide, literate public.

A stamped, self-addressed envelope will ensure the return of your submission.

**MANUSCRIPTS.** Authors must type manuscripts, *double-spacing* lines in *both text and (on separate pages) endnotes*.

Please use bonded, standard-sized (8½" × 11") white paper, dark ribbon (avoid hard-to-read dot-matrix printers), and leave ample margins. Avoid breaking words at the end of lines.

Because articles normally go to an outside reader for a blind evaluation, we ask that they arrive in duplicate (either carbon or photocopy) with the author's name on separate title pages.

The *MdHM* does not use sub-headings for sections; please ensure that the topic of each new section makes itself self-evident to readers.

For most rules governing format, follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (13th edition, 1982). For questions about spelling and hyphenation, consult *Webster's New World Dictionary* (2d college edition, 1980). Authors unsure of grammatical and literary points may ask the associate editor for a copy of our writers' help sheet.

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1. George H. Callcott, *Maryland and America, 1940–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. xi–xii.

5. Callcott, *Maryland and America*, p. 210.

8. Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters; The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams* (2 vols.; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959), 1:107.

10. Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:214.

11. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 1:133.

13. *Archives of Maryland*, 14:12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

12. "An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, in Maryland, near Virginia . . ." and "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland . . ." in Clayton Cloman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), pp. 7–8, 40–45.

25. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of

White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 34 (1977): 542–71.

27. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," pp. 569–70.
19. Tommy R. Thompson, "Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 67.
25. "Walking the Ecological Tightrope," *Maryland Magazine*, 9 (Autumn 1977): 23.
3. Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 4 July 1776.
5. *Maryland Gazette*, 5 July 1776.
12. Elizabeth Town (Hagerstown) *Washington Spy*, 10 November 1795.
14. *Washington Spy*, 15 December 1795.
16. John Smith to editors, Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 12 March 1948.
44. Donald Baker, "Is Baltimore Truly Back?" *Washington Post*, 24 November 1984.
4. Photostatic copy, "Articles of Association incorporating the St. Paul's School of St. Paul's Parish" (1853), St. Paul's School Library, Brooklandville, Md.
2. Baltimore Central Stables, 1888 account book, p. 87 (MS. 959, MdHS).
11. Fillmore to Carroll, 23 July 1856, Anna Ella Carroll Papers, MS. 1224, MdHS.
12. Fillmore to Carroll, 26 July 1856, *ibid.*
10. Fillmore to Isaac Newton, 1 January 1855, Fillmore Papers, Buffalo Historical Society.
20. Somerset County Judicials, 1692–1693, f. 10–18, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
33. *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates . . . December Session 1846* (hereinafter cited as *JHD*), p. 77.
35. *JHD* (1846), p. 88.
45. *Laws of the State of Maryland . . . 1908*, chap. 606.
50. *Congressional Record*, 71st Cong., 2d sess., 1930, 72, pt. 10:10828–30.

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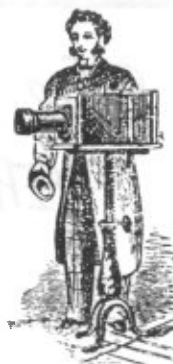
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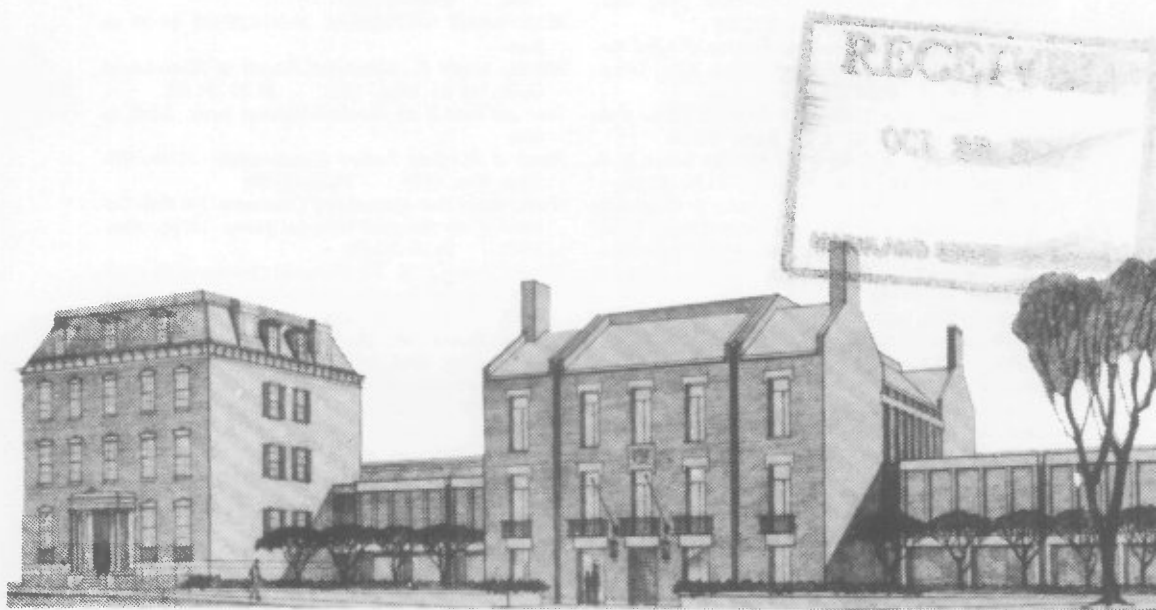
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